

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF BAGRI

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in fulfilment of the requirements for
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled, 'A Descriptive Grammar of Bagri' submitted by **Lakhan Gusain**, Centre of Linguistics & English, School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** is an original work and has not been submitted previously for any other degree of any university. This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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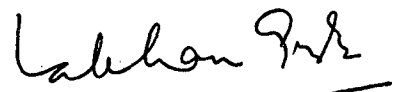
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(LAKHAN GUSAIN)

List of Abbreviations

1	- 1st person
2	- 2nd person
3	- 3rd person
abl.	- ablative
acc.	- accusative
aux.	- auxilliary
cor.	- correlative marker
cp.	- conjunctive participle
dat.	- dative
def.	- definite adjective
EVC.	- explicator compound verb
emph	- emphatic
erg.	- ergative
f	- feminine
fut.	- future tense
gen.	- genitive
h	- honorific
imp.	- imperative
inst.	- instrumental
loc.	- locative
m	- masculine
mk.	- marker
nom.	- nominative case
obl.	- oblique case
p	- plural
poss.	- possessive
ppl.	- participle
prst	- present tense
pst.	- past tense
refl.	- reflexive
rel.	- relative marker
recipr.	- reciprocal
s	- singular
sbjt.	- subjunctive imperative

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 RAJASTHANI : DIALECTS AND CLASSIFICATION

The present work is a grammatical description of Bagri, a dialect of Rajasthani which is a member of Indo-Aryan language family. Bagri is spoken in northern-Rajasthan and its adjacent areas of Haryana and Punjab (Map-1). It is also reported to be spoken in Bahawalpur and Bahawalnagar areas of Punjab in Pakistan.

In the past, the constituent regions of the present Rajasthan were known by different names. Many a times due to change in their rulers, the boundaries of the separate regions also changed. The northern of these regions was known as Jangal, the eastern as Matsya, the southern as Medpat, Wagad, Pragvat, Malaw and Gurjatra, the western as Maru, Mad, Vall, Travani, the south eastern as Sivi and the central part as Arbud and Sapadlaksha.

The current name Rajasthan¹ was introduced by Colonel Tod in 1829 and it gradually replaced the old name 'Rajputana' given by George Thomas in 1800. Through the course of time the name Rajasthan got established mainly after the 'State Reorganization' on 1st November, 1956 and consequently, the dialects spoken in this state were called as the 'varieties' of Rajasthani (Map-2).

¹ Colonel Tod (1829) Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Part I. Calcutta: Indian Antiquary



MAP-1 : INDIA : BAGRI SPEAKING AREA IN RAJASTHAN, HARYANA AND PUNJAB

Historically, Gujarati and Rajasthani were developed from Gurjari Apabhramsa around 11th century A.D. Upto the fifteenth century, Rajasthani and Gujarati shared common literature. The literature of the early period (1050-1450 A.D.) is thus a common heritage (Munshi, 1935) of both the languages - Gujarati and Rajasthani. During the first half of the fifteenth century, both these languages began their independent growth, and consequently the modern Rajasthani came into being (Fig.1). The development of literature in Dingal style of Rajasthani begins from 1050 A.D. with Prithviraj Raso².

Though, Rajasthani is not enlisted in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and is still considered as one of the 48 dialects of Hindi,³ yet its popularity and status are remarkable from the literary and linguistic points of view. Rajasthani is spoken by 27,405,537 speakers, that is more than fifty percent of the total population of Rajasthan, comprising its eight dialects plus 13,328,581 speakers of Rajasthani(?) according to the 1991 Census. Rajasthani language, literature and culture have an independent tendency of development.

There are eight dialects of Rajasthani (Map 2), with their respective speakers in braces according to the Census of India 1991, these are: Bagri(593,730) spoken in Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts of Rajasthan and adjoining sections of Haryana and Punjab; Shekhawati(970,413) in Sikar and Jhunjhunu area; Mewati(102,916) in Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur area; Marwari(4,673,276) in Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Barmer, Churu, Nagaur, Ajmer, Pali districts; Mewari(2,114,622) in Udaipur, Rajsamand area; Dhundhari(965,006) in Jaipur,

² Maheshwari, H.L. (1960) Rajasthani Bhasha Aur Sahitya (vs. 1500-1650) Calcutta: Adhunik

³ Census of India (1991) Languages part, Annexure-1, New Delhi: Government of India Press



MAP-2 : DIALECTS OF RAJASTHANI

(with their respective speakers in braces according to the Census of India 1991)

Sawai Madhopur, Tonk region; Harauti(1,235,252) in Kota, Bundi, Jhalawar districts; and Wagri(1,420,051) in Chittorgarh, Banswara and Dungarpur region. Out of these eight dialects, Marwari is considered a dominant and 'standard' variety of Rajasthani as a high variety of literature and a lot of work in grammar and dictionary have been written in this dialect.

It is believed that when Aryans settled in Panchnad, their language at that time was Vedic Sanskrit and the changed form of literary Vedic Sanskrit was called Sanskrit. The languages in use among the common masses were known as Prakrits. There were two categories of Prakrits : First Prakrits and Second Prakrits. Pali and Ardha-Magadhi represented the First Prakrits whereas Saurseni, Magadhi and Maharashtri represented the Second Prakrits. With the course of time Apabhramsas were developed from the Prakrits. There are known to be twenty seven varieties of Apabhramsas.

According to Dr. Grierson, Nagar Apabhramsa dominated Gujarat-Rajasthan area; whereas, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji called the same as Saurseni Apabhramsa that was spoken in lower Rajasthan and upper Gujarat area. K.M.Munshi said, it was Gurjari or the Apabhramsa of Gurjar Desh that was spoken in this area. The latter view seems more appropriate as majority of modern linguists supports this view. Gurjari Apabhramsa was spoken in the Gujarat-Rajasthan area. With the course of time Gurjari Apabhramsa gave birth to Gujarati and Rajasthani around eleventh century A.D. Thereafter, Rajasthani started separating from Gujarati in the fifteenth century and finally developed independently having its literary form known as Dingal.

Since the beginning of twentieth century Rajasthani has been making progress immensely in each and every genre of literature and linguistics.

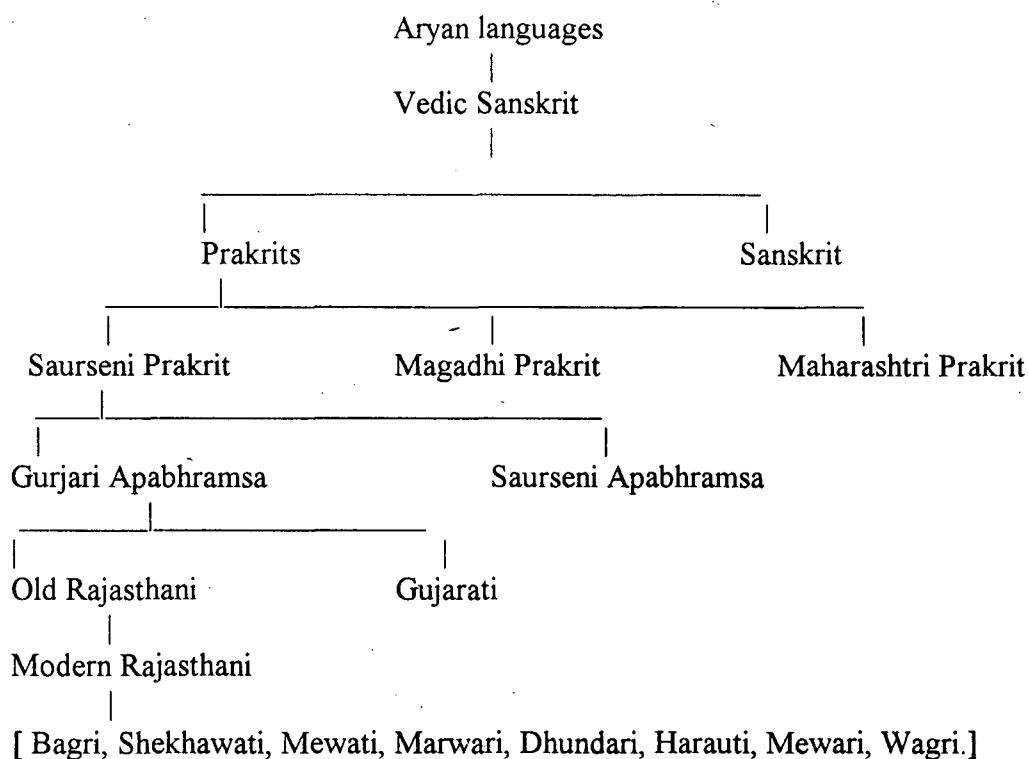


Fig. 1 : Development of Rajasthani and its dialects

1.2 GEOGRAPHY:

Out of the eight dialects of Rajasthani, Bagri is spoken predominantly in Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts of Rajasthan; Sirsa and Hissar Districts of Haryana; and Faridkot , Firozpur and Bhatinda districts of Punjab. Bagri is also spoken across the border in Bahawalpur and Bahawalnagar areas of Pakistan.



MAP-3 : BAGRI SPEAKING AREA

The name Bagri⁴ derived from the word Bagar which means arid and barren land. But this word has no relevance today as the area is fully irrigated and fertile. However, the language spoken in this area is continued to be called Bagri due to geographical significance of the area.

The Bagri speaking area is located between 28° 4' and 30° 10' north latitudes and between 72° 30' and 75° 30' east longitudes (Map-3). Roughly, the Bagri speaking area consists of 48,260 square kilometres. Out of which 20,813 square kilometres cover Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts; 10,180 square kilometres of Punjab; and 12,210 square kilometres of Sirsa and Hissar districts of Haryana and rest of the area of Pakistan.

According to the Census of India, there were 309,903 Bagri speakers in 1961; 1,055,607 in 1971⁵; and 593,730 in 1991. The data mentioned in the Census are misleading as is clear from the returns given above. They are changing drastically from 1961 to 1991. The number of actual speakers is higher since Bagri is used as a lingua franca of majority of the population in the northern Rajasthan, western Haryana and southern Punjab.

1.3 POLITICAL HISTORY:

Before July 12th, 1994 Hanumangarh district was a Tehsil of Ganganagar district. Erstwhile Ganganagar district is named after its head quarters which itself is named after Maharaja Gangasingh, the ruler of former Bikaner State, whose continuous efforts resulted in the advent of Gang canal in this thirsty and arid land of this area.

⁴ Grierson, G.A.(1908) (Repr. 1968) Linguistic Survey of India(vol.IX, part.II) New Delhi: Motilal Banarasi dass

⁵ Masica, C.P.(1991) The Indo-Aryan Languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Several Explorations and excavations have been made by archaeological experts⁶. These have proved that the civilization of the Indus valley had extended and it was inhabited by the people akin to those who had flourished at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The famous terra-cotta 'cakes' were also utilized for paving floors and the mounds locally called 'ther' or 'theri' had been excavated which were found covered with the pieces of the broken pottery.

Numerous mounds, large well burnt bricks and actual remains of kilns have also been found along the banks of Ghaggar(Saraswati) and its tributary and this area as Bhatner (Hanumangarh), Bhadrakali, Fatehgarh, Kalibanga, Rangmahal, Pallu, Purabsar, Karnisar, and Bhawar. Recent excavations at Nohar and Gandheli have also proved the connection of blackware with the Rangmahal and Kalibanga remains and their civilization. The continuity of tradition, evident in the decoration of the pottery remains ,makes it appear probable for quite a long time that this area was a rendezvous for the tribes under the influence of Indus civilization.

As early as the Vedic period, this region must have been inhabited by the Aryans as the Saraswati (Modern Ghaggar) had been one of their most holy and sacred rivers. According to Mahabharata this part of the territory was known by the name of Jangalu which was often expressed in the compound terms Madreya-Jangla and Kuru-Jangala. Due to this reason the rulers of erstwhile Bikaner state were called Jangaldhar Badshah ever since the medieval times. In the ancient period, it is assumed that a large portion of presently Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts was under the dominion of Ayudhjivi. Clay seals and coins have been unearthed at a

⁶ Census of India (1991)Rajasthan: Ganganagar district.New Delhi: Government of India press

number of places which incidentally help in showing the extent of their territory. There might have been an Ahira or Abhira state not very far from Hanumangarh and Ganganagar area. Mauryas have also established a vast empire in now called Rajasthan which includes the territories of Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts. Kushans might have also have ruled over this area because the coins of Kushan rulers have been found from the mounds of Suratgarh and Hanumangarh by Sir A.Stien. These coins have also been unearthed at Rangmahal. Guptas presumably ruled in this area for about two centuries. Hunas, under the leadership of Toramana, returned and swept over the whole of north western India including Gujarat, Kathiawar, Rajputana, and Malwa in 499 A.D. From the facts available it can be assumed that Harsha had established domination over the part of Rajasthan now comprising of Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts. Gurjars have also moved in this area.

During the medieval period Prithviraj III (c.1178-92 A.D.) one of the most powerful rulers among Chahamanas has ruled which might have included the territory of erstwhile Bikaner state, where a few inscriptions of 12th century have been preserved over the slabs in some of the cenotaphs. Bhatner (Hanumangarh) probably formed part of the territory held by the Bhati chief Hemhel, from whom the Phulkian houses of Patiala, Jind, and Nabha claim their descent. In the early Muhammadan era, the country around Bhatner (Hanumangarh) formed an important fief under the Delhi sultanate, and was a crown province under Iltutmish. A grand tomb of SherKhan was erected to commemorate his memory who is said to have repaired the forts of Bhatinda and Bhatner (Hanumangarh). In the year 1398, Bhati Rajput, Raja Dulchand was occupying Bhatner, but the facts regarding the re-seize of this territory

from the Delhi sultans is not known. The area so called of 'sodhawathi' around Suratgarh and southeast of Bhatner was once occupied by the sodha Rajputs who were later on expelled by the Bhattis. The Chayal Rajputs subdued the Bhattis of Bhatner and continued to occupy it upto 1527. The Mohils (the another branch of chauhans), seem to have exercised their suzerainty over the areas adjoining the Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts. Due to the daring efforts of adventurous and dauntless Rajput leaders a new state of Bikaner sprang up in 15th century.

Rao Bika, son of Rao Jodha, the founder of Jodhpur established himself firmly in Bikaner in 1488 A.D. and subdued the various tribes such as Godaras, Punias, and Sarans residing around the area. Bika Succeeded on routing the combined forces of the Mohils and Turks and annexed and occupied the territory. Among these occupied territories now form the parts of Hanumangarh, Ganganagar and Churu districts. Thus Bika laid the foundation of erstwhile Bikaner state which remained in existence upto 1949 when it was merged into Rajasthan. The history of Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts is, in most part, history of Bikaner state. The territories now known as Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts used to be a part of former Bikaner state. The erstwhile Bikaner state merged into the United States of Greater Rajasthan and the area of Ganganagar Nizamat alongwith the Hanumangarh and other parts of erstwhile. Bikaner state became a part of new state of Rajasthan. Ganganagar area with minor adjustments was carved as a district on 30th March 1949 and Hanumangarh district was carved out of Ganganagar district on July 12th, 1994 which continue up-to-date.

1.4 SOCIETY:

The majority of the inhabitants of Bagri area are Hindus, and the other major religions are Sikhism and Muslims. Society is divided into castes irrespective of Religion. A momentous event in modern Bagri history was the partition of the nation due to which Muslims of this area migrated to Pakistan and in turn thousands of Punjabi-Hindu refugees settled in this area from Pakistan. After the introduction of modern irrigational facilities in this area, several families from Haryana, Punjab and other parts of Rajasthan migrated and settled here. They brought with them their language, culture and hierarchy of castes. More or less, the Bagri society is conservative, backward and illiterate. Purdah 'veil' system is prevalent among Hindus and Muslims but Sikhs are progressive in comparison with Hindus and Muslims. Casteism is very strong and gender biasness can overtly be marked even by a layman.

With the introduction of western education, people have started thinking in progressive line. Boys and girls are encouraged to join schools and colleges but the condition of higher education is deplorable. Not more than fifty students are studying in universities from this area that even from upper castes of society. Jats, Brahmins, Banias, Carpenters, Bishnois, Sikhs, Barbers, and Dalits are the major castes of this area. Intercaste marriage is prohibited and people are not encouraged to mix up with lower class people. People of this area are vegetarian and follow non-violence as an ideal of life. This can be said the result of the teachings of the propagators of several sects prevalent in this area like Arya Samaj, Guru Jambheshwar, Gusain samaj, Radha Swami, etc..

1.5 REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

No intensive work has been carried out on this dialect so far. Although the dialect was recognized for the first time by J.Wilson at the time of Sirsa Settlement Report (1879-83). He carved out the Bagri speaking area and made a study of the parts of speech of the dialect and also made a difference between Bagri and other dialects like Bangaru, Malwi(Punjabi).

Sir. G.A. Grierson presented an outline of Bagri in his Linguistic Survey of India in 1908 (Vol.IX, part II). He studied the basic vocabulary and parts of speech of Bagri after demarcating the Bagri speaking area.

In 1993, students of the Centre of Linguistics and English, JNU, New Delhi, as a part of their MA in Linguistics carried out a remarkable research on some selected topics of syntax, morphology, phonology, and socio-linguistics of Bagri and written reports on their respective works.

Since 1992, I have been working on Bagri. My earlier work is 'Reflexives in Bagri' (M.Phil dissertation). I have attempted to undertake research on Bagri Syntax, Morphology, Phonology, Lexicons, and Language contact, change and borrowing in the current thesis.

Being a native speaker of Bagri, I have tried to analyse the dialect to the best of my competence. Special mention can be made of the phonological analyses, as the occurrence of tonal tendencies in Bagri have been discovered for the first time

1.6 QUESTIONNAIRE:

Before Bernard Comrie and Smith developed a Questionnaire (1977), which is proved to be an important expedient in describing a language, the work on theoretical

linguistics and the work on the language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics was primarily concentrated on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing other languages was deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major reapproachment has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types. For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that description of different languages should be comparable. The questionnaire developed by Comrie and Smith, which was originally published as in *Lingua*, Vol.42, No.1 (1977), provides a framework for the description of a language that is (i) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (ii) sufficiently explicit to make cross language comparisons a feasible understanding; and (iii) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language.

According to the format set out in the Questionnaire, descriptive grammar of a language can be prepared to provide an analytical description of syntactical, morphological, phonological aspects of a language. Taking this format into consideration, an endeavour has been made to study, analyse and prepare a descriptive grammar of Bagri dialect of Rajasthan. Necessary modifications and improvisations were made to this Questionnaire wherever the Indian language-data type in general and Bagri in particular demanded.

1.7 FIELD WORK:

Being a native speaker of Bagri and doing research on this dialect has been a plus point for me to conduct an extensive survey of the Bagri speaking area, as people cooperate with the local student more positively. A field survey of Bagri was conducted for the first time in the August 1992. The data for a word list of 217 entries were collected at that time. From July 22 to Dec 31, 1993. I participated in the class of MA linguistics as an informant for Bagri and visited the Bagri speaking area along with students and collected data for syntax and morphology. Under the Ph.D programme, four field surveys of the area were conducted and data were collected from different places of the Bagri speaking areas of Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan. In Haryana, field surveys were conducted at Chautala, Madhosinghana, and Sureran villages of Dabwali, Sirsa and Ellenabad Tehsils respectively. In Punjab, Abohar and Fazilka Tehsil headquarters were covered; whereas in Rajasthan, several villages of Hanumangarh and Ganganagar districts were surveyed from time to time for collecting primary data.

The 'Questionnaire' developed by Comrie and Smith (1977) with necessary modifications and a word list were the bases for collecting primary data of Bagri. Apart from these, personal communications were made with several speakers of Bagri. After an extensive field study of the Bagri speaking area, the data obtained from the informants of Bagri have been used as primary source material for the study. For the secondary data, previously carried out research works like that of Wilson and Grierson have been consulted. As the work is primarily based on Comrie and Smith's Questionnaire (1977), several samplings of the data have been taken into consideration to minimise the errors particularly in the area of phonology. A word list of 217 words have been filled in the beginning of the work. The analytical approach has been adopted to study the data and material of Bagri.

1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS:

This thesis consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 describes the Bagri and its speaking area, classification and geography. Chapter 2 describes sentence types, direct and indirect speech, subordination, coordination, negation, anaphora, reflexives, reciprocals, comparison, equatives, possession emphasis, and particles. Chapter 3 describes inflection, derivation, compounding, and reduplication in Bagri. Chapter 4 deals with the segmental phonemes, phonotactics, and supra-segmentals of Bagri. Chapter 5 deals with lexicons of the dialect, Chapter 6 deals with language contact, change, and borrowing in Bagri, and Chapter 7 is the conclusion of all the six chapters.

CHAPTER-2

SYNTAX

2.1 SENTENCE TYPES

Four sentence types will be discussed in this chapter. These are: declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatives. By a sentence type is meant a regular coincidence that obtains between a specific syntactic form and a specific semantic/pragmatic function. Thus, a declarative sentence is typically used to make a statement; an interrogative sentence is typically used to ask a question; an imperative sentence is typically used to express and order, a request, or a warning; and an exclamative sentence is typically expressing a more or less emotional comment on something and often characterised by a grammatically distinctive form.

- (1) mē ʔhik kəryo (Declarative)
 I good do-pst.ms

‘I did well.’

- (2)a. tū kəʔtʰe jawe hɛ ? (Interrogative)
 you where go-prst.ms aux

‘Where are you going ?’

- b. o tero hɛ ?
 this you.gen aux

‘Is it yours ?’

(3)a. bhaj -o

(Imperative) run -away -imp

'Get out !'

b. nã ja-o
not go-imp

'Do not go'

Sentence (1) shows that a combination of Subject-Complement-Verb word order (with the verb agreeing with the subject and falling intonation) is typically associated with one use, that of making an assertion. Sentence (1) is a declarative sentence.

(2)a) shows that a combination of Subject-Interrogative-Adverb-Verb word order and falling intonation is typically associated with one specific use - that of asking a question for information, (2b), on the other hand, has the same word order as (1) but lacks a question word and has a rising intonation, and it is typically associated with a Yes-No question type sentence. Sentence (3a) consists of an imperative verb; (3b) has the same construction but also contains a preverbal negator adverbial. Both sentences are of imperative type and are used to issue directives to the addressee. Sentences (1-3) also show that these sentence types are mutually exclusive in their distribution: none of these sentences can simultaneously belong to two different syntactic types.

Exclamatives are utterances serving to express emotion, regardless of its grammatical form, which is often merely that of a word or a phrase, such as in (4)-

(4)a. mōen keyo "iswər tero bhəlo kəɛ !"
Mohan say-pst.ms God your good do-imp.

'Mohan said, " God bless you."'

b dərərɛ mɛ̃ pər !
 hell in fall-imp.

‘Go to hell !’

All these sentence types will be described in (2.1.1-4).

2.1.1 Declarative sentences

A declarative sentence is the least marked, the most basic, and the most widespread form of clause observed in Bagri. It has the following characteristics:

(i) A declarative sentence has the unmarked word order SOV:

(5) a. mɛ̃ bidyarthi hū
 I student be-prst.s
 S Complement (O) V

‘I am a student.’

b. bo skul gəyo
 he school go-pst.3ms
 S O V

‘He went to school.’

(ii) Both the subject and the object control the verb agreement in a declarative sentence:

(6)a. mɛ̃ tənne kitab di
 I you-acc/dat book.fs give-pst.fs
 S IO O V

‘ I gave you the book.’

b. tɛ̃ binne kuṭyo
 you he-acc/dat beat-pst.2ms
 S O V

‘You beat him.’

(iii) A declarative sentence has the same form as the subordinate clause:

(7) bəŋ keyo kɛ bo kal awɛgo
 he+erg. say-pst.ms that he tomorrow come-fut.3ms

‘He said that he would come tomorrow’.

(iv) A declarative sentence has a falling intonation:

(8)a. mɛ̃ jawū hū
 I go-prst.1ms aux-prst.1ms

‘I go.’

b. tū kal jawɛgo
 you tomorrow go-fut.2ms

‘You will go tomorrow.’

c. tɛ̃ səgla am kha liya
 you all mango eat take-pst.2ms

‘You ate up all the mangoes !’

(v) A declarative sentence serves as the basis on which other sentence types are formed:

(9)a. the jawo ho ?
 you (p.) go-prst. aux-prst.2mp

‘Are you going ?’

b. ja - o
 go-imp

‘Go!’

Sentence (9a) is declarative in form, but the addition of a new prosodic feature (i.e., rising intonation) converts it into an interrogative sentence. In a similar manner, by suppressing the second person pronominal subject *the (you.h)* and by adding a special verbal morphology, sentence (9b) becomes imperative.

2.1.2 Interrogative sentences

According to the type of reply expected, there are two principle types of interrogative sentences in Bagri: (i) those that expect a positive or negative answer to the questioned statement are 'Yes-No questions'; and (ii) those that expect a reply from an open-ended range of replies are 'Question-word questions'.

2.1.2.1 Yes-No questions:

Depending upon a particular type of answer expected, Yes-No questions can be classified into two basic types: Neutral Yes-No questions which do not expect a particular answer and, Leading Yes-No questions, where either an affirmative or a negative answer is expected.

(a) Neutral Yes-No Questions-

Neutral Yes-No questions are formed by the optional placement of the question word ke in the sentence initial position of a declarative sentence. Although the placement of the question word ke does not introduce any word changes from a declarative sentence, it does call for a rising intonation at the end of a sentence - especially on the verbal element. The question word ke is also used at the end of a sentence but the moveability of ke does not bring in difference in focus. These points are illustrated by following three sentences:

(10) the aj git gawoga
 you today song sing-fut.2mp

‘ You will sing a song today.’

(11) (ke) the aj git gawoga ?
 (Q-word)you today song sing-fut.2mp

‘ Will you sing a song today ?’

(12) the aj git gawoga (ke)?
 you today song sing-fut.2mp (Q-word)

‘Will you sing a song today ?’

The presence of the question word ke is optional in the sentence-initial and sentence-final positions. A rising intonation is so critical that a declarative sentence without a question word ke is quite sufficient to render Yes-No questions. However, reverse is not true.

(b)Leading Yes-No questions-

Leading Yes-No questions are formed by the addition of ni or nā ‘not’ at the end of a sentence which serves as a tag question. The negative particle nā/ni represents a shortened version of the invariable with respect to the preceding positive or negative propositions.

The expectation of a positive answer is expressed by an affirmative proposition preceding ni, as in (13):

(13) aj sita skul jawεgi, ni ?
 today sita school go-fut.3fs neg

‘Sita will go to school today, won’t she?’

If the proposition preceding *nā* takes the negative form, a negative answer is expected, as in, (14) :

- (14) aj sita skul koni jawεgi, nā?
 today sita school not go-fut.3fs tag
 ‘Sita will not go to school today, will she?’

2.1.2.2 Question word questions:

Interrogative sentences with wh-question words are generally termed as k-questions in Bagri because question words begin with the k-sound. Question words do not induce any word order changes in the statement undergoing question formation. Interrogative sentences with question words are formed by inserting a question word in place of the questioned constituent in the statement.

The main question words in Bagri are: *ke* ‘what,’ *kun* ‘who,’ *kisyo* ‘which,’ *kətt̪hε* ‘where,’ *kyukər* ‘how,’ *kyū* ‘why,’ *kiyā* ‘how’ (manner adverbial), *kisyok* ‘what kind,’ *kitto* ‘how much,’ *kinne* ‘in what direction,’ *kəd* ‘when’. The question word in a sentence is always stressed.

- (15) tharo nam ke hε?
 your name what is

‘what is your name?’

- (16) gam kətt̪hε hε?
 village where is

‘where is village ?’

- (17) bá/bó kuṇ hē?
she/he who is

TH- 8499

'who is she/he?'

THESIS

- (18) the kyukər ho?
you.h how are

P, 4437, 90 = B32
N9

'How are you?'

- (19) īnga kitta pisa hē?
this-poss.mk how much price is

'What is the cost of this?'

- (20) tū bəṭṭhē kyū gəyo?
you there why go-pst.ms

'Why did you go there?'

- (21) tē a kitab kyukər likhi?
you this book.fs how write-pst.fs

'How did you write this book?'



When an expected answer to a question is in the form of a list (more than one thing), the question word is reduplicated, as in (22) :

- (22) bəṭṭhē ke ke batā hoi?
there what what matter.fp happen-pst.fp

'What kinds of topics were discussed there?'

2.1.3 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences are sensitive to number, person, degree of imperiousness, and politeness. The following types of imperatives are found in Bagri: (a) the basic

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~~P, 4437, 90 = B32~~
~~N9~~

imperatives, (b) the future imperative, (c) the subjunctive imperative, (d) the obligative imperative, and (e) the prohibitive imperative.

2.1.3.1 The basic imperative:

The basic imperative takes second person subjects- *tū* 'you' (singular) and *the* 'you' (plural/honorific). It occurs in singular and plural. The ordinary singular imperative form consists of the stem. The ordinary plural form is derived by adding *-o/wo* to a stem. Deletion of the subject is, although quite common, not obligatory.

(23) *tū* *ja*
 you.s go-imp.s

 'You go' (rude)

a. *the* *jao*
 you.h go-imp.p

 'You go' (formal)

2.1.3.2 The future imperative:

The future imperative is always stem + *i* , as in (24):

(24) *kal* *ai*
 tomorrow come-fut.imp

 'Come tomorrow.'

2.1.3.3 The subjunctive:

The subjunctive form primarily conveys a suggestion, wish or intention rather than a direct command or request, as in (25-27):

- (25) bó tawlo jε
 he quickly go-sbjt.3ms

‘He should go quickly.’

- (26) calo, ghəre calā
 go-imp. home go-sbjt.2p

‘Come, let us go home’.

- (27) mē jawū ?
 I go-sbjt.1s

‘May I go?’

2.1.3.4 The obligative:

The obligative expresses both moral and epistemic obligations. It is formed by compound verbs/serial verbs. Compound verbs are formed by adding to the non-finite form of a verb (usually its stem, conjunctive in stem form, present or past particle, or infinitive) an ancillary verb. The ancillary is conjugated for the various tenses and moods, while the main verb remains unchanged. The ancillary verbs used are *kər* ‘do’, *pər* ‘to be compelled’, *ho* ‘be’, *cəiε* ‘should.’

- (28) sādā cokha kam kəre kəro
 always good work do-inf.ms do-imp.ms

‘You should always do good deeds.’

- (29) mhanē bəra dukh sɛɳa pəɽya
 we+acc. great pain bear-inf. fall-pst.ms

‘We had to bear great hardships.’

- (30) tənne pisa deɳa howɛga
 you+acc. money give-inf.mp be-fut.mp

‘You will have to give money.’

*(30)a. tũ pisa deṇa howεga
 you.s money give-inf be-fut

‘You will have to give money.’

The ungrammaticality of (30a) indicates that obligatives do not take nominative subjects.

(30)b. əb ghər jaṇo cəiε
 now home go-inf.ms should.ms

Now I should go home.’

2.1.3.5 The prohibitive:

The negative particle *nā* ‘not’ is employed with imperative sentence and it is placed before the verb.

(31) nā jao
 neg. go-imp

‘Please do not go.’

*(31)a. koni jao
 neg. go-imp

‘Please do not go.’

It is clear from (31a.) that the ordinary negative particle *koni* ‘not’ is not used with an imperative sentence.

2.1.4 Exclamatives

An exclamative sentence differs from a declarative sentence in more than one syntactical aspect:

(i) An exclamative sentence is incomplete or truncated:

statement as being true, but in an exclamative sentence the speaker adds a strong emotional reaction to when he presupposes to be true.

- (35) bá chori suni hɛ (Declarative)
 that girl beautiful aux

‘That girl is beautiful !’

- (35)a. bá chori kitti suni hɛ ! (Exclamative)
 that girl howmuch beautiful aux

‘How beautiful that girl is !’

- (36) bĩ ga kan lɔmba hɛ (Declarative)
 he gen ear long aux

‘ His ears are long.’ (He has long ears.)

- (36a) ɔrɛ bĩ ga kan kitta lɔmba hɛ (Exclamative)

oh he gen. ear howmuch long aux

‘Oh, how long his ears are !’(He has long ears.)

An exclamative clause resembles an interrogative clause in form in that it uses k-question words *kitto* ‘howmuch’, *kisyok* ‘how/of what type’

In exclamative clauses, the k-question words are syntactically different in that they occupy a determiner position and function as degree modifiers to a noun, adjective or adverb:

- (37) kitta lɔmba kan !
 ‘how long ears’

‘How long ears !’

- (38) kitto cokho !
 how nice

‘How nice !’

- (39) əɾɐ bɔ̌ mərgyo !
 oh he die-pst.3ms

‘Oh, he died !’

2.2 DIRECT SPEECH AND INDIRECT SPEECH

No overt syntactic device such as a quotative marker or particle is utilized to distinguish between direct and indirect speech in Bagri. Frequently quoted as well as reported material is contained in an embedded sentence preceded by the complementizer *kɛ* ‘that’ which is subordinate relative to a higher verb of the S:

- (40) kagət mɐ likhyo ho kɛ tawəɭa ao
 letter in write.ppl.pst was that quickly come-imp

It was written in the letter , ‘come quickly.’

- (41) bəɳ puchyo kɛ ke bat hɐ
 he+erg.ask-pst.ms that what matter is

He asked, “What is the matter? ”

- (42) sunən mɐ ayo hɐ kɛ bɔ̌ awɐgo
 hearing in come-pst.ms is that he come-fut-3ms

‘It is heard that he will come.’

Impersonal sentences such as (42) are henceforth referred as ‘hearsay-type’ sentences.

As is clear from the above sentences, the complementizer *kɛ* ‘that’ precedes the quoted material in (40-41) and the reported material in (42).

However, it should be stressed that it is the context that renders the reading unambiguous. The syntax of direct speech and that of indirect speech are not different from each other in Bagri. Unlike English, Bagri prefers the discourse strategy of ‘direct speech.’

For English expressions, such as ‘He asked me what the matter was,’ Bagri prefers to use the direct narration form, as shown by the gloss and free translation of (41). Therefore, regardless of meaning the syntax of (40-42) is that of direct speech in English. This syntactic tendency, together with the possibility of an indirect narration reading, creates potential ambiguity, as in (43):

(43)	móən	keyo	kε	bó	awεgo
	mohan	say-pst.ms	that	he	come-fut.ms

‘Mohan_i said, “He_j will come.”’ or ‘Mohan_i said that he_j would come.’

It is noticed that the embedded S of (43) is dominated by a matrix verb which is not of the hear-say type, and a direct speech reading is conveyed. The resultant sentence is potentially ambiguous, as indicated by the English translation.

However, it should be stressed both readings do not receive equal preference. Because of the preference for the direct discourse strategy, the direct speech reading exhibits overwhelming preference over the indirect narration reading. This tendency has, in the past, led both native grammarians to analyse the complementizer *kε* as a quotative marker, which takes the place of inverted marks the English quotation marker.

The use of *kε* is not confined to quotation. It is used in other ways.

- (44) ākh mēdan pər lageri hi kε dekho ke huwε hε
 eyes.fp ground on fix-ppl.pst.3fp were that see-imp what be-prst.ms is
 'Eyes were fixed on the door to see what would happen.'

- (45) mē cawū hū kε jawū
 I want-prst.ms am that go-sbjt-1ms
 'I want to go.'

In (44) and (45) *kε* has hint of 'saying to oneself' and the words which follow are the very words supposed to be passing in the speaker's mind. From these two examples it becomes clear that direct speech does not attempt to reproduce the actual words at the surface but rather at an abstract level. Even at a surface level, sentence (43) does not cease to be grammatical even if Mohan actually used a proper noun instead of a third person pronoun in his utterance.

2.3 SUBORDINATION

Subordination involves the conjunction of two clauses with the help of subordinators or subordinating conjunctions. The subordinators assign unequal rank to the conjoined clauses and render one of the clauses subordinate to other. Subordination involves finite and non-finite verbs. Finite clauses are not distinct from main clauses in terms of their structure. They exhibit different behaviour in two important respects:

(i) word order: subordinate finite clauses generally follow the main clause; if they precede the main clause, the marked order is due to focus considerations. The only

exceptions are relative clauses and adverbial relative clauses, (ii) the subordinate marker or complementizer generally occupies initial position in the subordinate clause.

(46) Main clause-

mẽ socũ hũ
I think.prst.ms am

‘I think.’

(46)a. Subordinate clause-

mẽ socũ hũ kε bo jawεgo
I think-prst am that he go-fut.3ms

‘I think that he will go.’

*(46)b. kε bo jawεgo, mẽ socũ hũ
that he go-fut.3ms I think-prst am

‘I think that he will go.’

If finite subordinate clause precedes the main clause, they drop the complementizer and require elements such as *ó* ‘this,’ *iyā* ‘such’ in their main clause, as exemplified by (46c):

(46)c. bó jawεgo, ó/iyā mẽ socũ hũ
he go-fut.3ms this/such I think-prst am

‘That he will go, I think.’

Non-finite subordinate clauses are formally distinct from main clauses. They are marked by (i) verb modification: the subordinate verb undergoes the process of verbal participialization or gerundivization/infinitivization, (ii) lack of agreement: the non-

finite subordinate verb lacks subject-verb/object-verb agreement and generally is not marked for tense, (iii) word order: the subordinate non-finite clause follows strict external (i.e. its placement within matrix clauses) and internal word order:

(47) Infinite subordinate verb-

[mero jaṇo] okho he
my go-inf. difficult is

‘My going is difficult.’

(48) Participle subordinate verb-

bó [ø_i calti] gaḍi_i syū kudyo
he ø move-ppl.prst.fs train from jump-pst.3ms

‘He jumped out of a moving train.’

(49) a. Lack of agreement-

bĩngo_i kəno sawəḷ he
s/he-gen. say-inf. good is

‘Her/His saying is good.’

b. mē [ø_i kəno səwəḷ he] socū hū
I ø say-inf. good is think aux-prst.1ms

‘I think her/his saying is good.’

(50) Internal word order-

*a. bó [gaḍi_i calti] ø_i syū kudyo
he train.fs move-ppl.prst.fs ø from jump-pst.3ms

‘He jumped out of a moving train.’

The complementizer in Bagri is *kε*. Usually, the complementizer occurs clause-initially in an object complement irrespective of the type of subordinate clause:

- (53) mənne lagyo [kε matho dukhε hε]
 I+acc/dat feel-pst comp head ache-prst aux-prst

‘I felt that I had a headache.’

There is no overt head noun introducing the complement clause. The complement clause allows subject/object-verb agreement and usually follows the main clause.

A wide variety of infinitival complements- simple as well as oblique (with or without postpositions) constitute another important class of noun clauses:

- (54) mē jaṇo cawū hū
 I go-inf want-prst.ms aux

‘ I want to go.’

2.3.2 Relative clauses

In Bagri, two types of relative clause construction are employed. These are finite and non-finite participial relative clauses. The finite relative clauses maintain full sentence structure with subject-verb agreement and are quite widespread. The participial relative clauses, on the other hand, exhibit the non-finite form of the verb.

Finite relative clauses are formed in the following way: (i) the primary relative marker *jiko* ‘who/which’ is placed in front of the relativised element, (ii) the correlative marker is placed at the beginning of the head noun, and (iii) the second identical and coreferential NP undergoes optional deletion.

(55) Relative markers-

	Direct	Oblique
singular	jiko/jiki 'what,who'	jike/jiki 'what, who'
Plural	jika/jiki 'what,who'	jikā/jiki 'what,who'

(56) Corelative markers-

	Direct	Oblique
Singular	bá/bó 's/he'	bəŋ s/hə+erg.
Plural	bé 'they'	bā they+erg

The relative marker begins with the j-sound, whereas question words begin with k-sound. The direct case occurs when a noun or pronoun is not followed by a case marked postposition. When a noun or pronoun is followed by a postposition, or case marking, it is said to be in oblique case.

In the examples given below, the symbol/ø/indicates the presumed site of relativised and head NP prior to deletion:

(57) [jiko choro_i dilli mē rewe hε] bó ø_i beli hε

rel. boy Delhi in live-prst.ms aux cor. ø friend aux

‘The boy who lives in Delhi is my friend .’

Sentence(57) consists of two clauses which share an identical and coreferential noun phrase:

Main clause: choro_i mero beli hε
 boy my beli aux-prst

‘The boy is my friend.’

Relative clause: choro_i dilli mē̃ rewε hε
 boy Delhi in live-prst.ms aux-prst.

‘The boy lives in Delhi.’

The relative clause takes the relative pronoun *jiko* whereas correlative clause selects the correlative pronoun *bó*. When the relative clause precedes the main clause, the result is a sentence such as (57 a):

(57)a. [jiko choro dilli mē̃ rewε hε] bó choro mero beli hε.

The second occurrence of *choro* ‘boy’ undergoes deletion under identity with the preceding occurrence of *choro* to yield (57).

Alternatively, these are two other positions of relative clauses with respect to the main clause which yield a total of three possible relative clause outputs in Bagri for a relative clause in English. The two other positions are (i) the relative clause following the head NP (57b), and (ii) the relative clause following the correlative clause (57c):

(57)b. bó choro_i [jiko ø_i dilli mē̃ rewε hε] mero beli hε

(57)c. bó choro mero beli hε [jiko dilli mē̃ rewε hε]

The succeeding occurrence of *choro* is deleted in (57)b and (57)c.

The participial relative clause is formed by (i) deleting the relativised noun phrase; and (ii) changing the verb into participial form by adding the -to for the present participle, -ero for the past and -n/η alo for the agentive participle.

(58) pəɖto (hoyo) choro
 study-ppl.prst.ms being.ms boy.ms

‘The studying boy.’

(59) bethəro (hoyo) choro
 sit-ppl.pst.ms being.ms boy.ms

‘The seated boy.’

(60) pəɖən aɭo choro
 study-inf.obl agn.ppl.ms boy.ms

‘The boy who studies.’

The participial forms agree with the following noun in number and gender. In (58-59), the optional element can intervene between the participial form and a head noun.

The optional element is restricted to the present and past participles.

2.3.3 Adverbial clauses

The adverbial clauses are marked by (a) finite form of the verb or (b) the non-finite form of the verb (i.e. participle and infinitive forms).

Finite adverbial clauses may be placed in presentential as well as post-sentential position.

The unmarked order of a non-finite adverbial clause is the preverbal position. The adverbial subordinate clauses in Bagri can be divided into the following types: time, location, manner, purpose.

2.3.3.1 Adverbial clause of time:

The adverbial clauses of time signal temporal as well as sequential relationships and utilize both the strategies of subordination as shown below:

- (i) Temporal relationship: Temporal relationship is signalled by the use of subordinators which are full words with lexical content; usually these are correlatives, one of which is optionally deleted, e.g. *jəd-təd* 'when-then', *jədtāi- tədtāi* 'as long as-until then':

(61) *jəd mē pugyo (təd) tū koni ho*
when I arrive-pst then you not be-pst.2ms

'When I arrived , you were not (there).'

(62) *jədtāi mē nā kewū tū gam nā choḍi*
as long as I not say-imp you village not leave-imp.

'Until I ask you, do not leave the village.'

Temporal relationship is also signalled by the use of non-finite verb forms that appear in combination with forms (postpositions) which explicitly identify temporal relationships and may also be combined with the emphatic and enclitic:

(63) *babε gε khaye pher tū khai*
father poss. eat-nonfinite after you eat-fut

'You (will) eat after father eats.'

- (ii) Immediate succession: The locative adverbial *jətthe* 'where' coupled with *kε* 'that' signals immediate sequence of events:

(64) (*jətthe*) *tēsən pugyo kε gaḍi ayi*
where station arrive-pst that train come-pst.3fs

'As soon as I arrived at the station, the train came.'

Non-finite verbs are also used in signalling immediate succession of events:

- (65) nokri hōta-i (sagε) mē khəbər dyūngo
job be-ppl.prst.emph with I news give-fut.1ms

‘As soon as I get the job, I will inform you.’

2.2.3.2 Locative clauses:

Locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the subordinator *jətt̪hε* ‘where’ or

jətt̪hε kətt̪hε ‘wherever’:

- (66) jətt̪hε ghaloga mē jawūgo
where send-fut I go-fut.1ms

‘I will go where you send me.’

- (67) jətt̪hε kətt̪hε mənē nokri miləgi mē jawūgo
wherever I+acc/dat job meet-fut I go-fut.1ms

‘I will go wherever I will find a job.’

2.2.3.3 Manner clauses:

Manner clause employ primarily relative-like and participial constructions. They are not usually expressed by the infinitival/gerundive construction. The relative clause-like marker *jiyā* ‘as’ renders the manner reading:

- (68) jiyā bō kéwε biyā tū kər
as-rel. he tell-sbjt same way-cor. you do-imp.s

‘Do as he tells (you to do).’

2.2.3.4 Purpose clauses:

The adverbial clauses of purpose typically use the different types of bare infinitival verb forms, as exemplified in (69-70):

- (69) mōen jutti leṇ bəjar gəyo
Mohan shoes buy-inf. market go-pst.3ms

‘Mohan went to market to buy shoes.’

- (70) bō pisa deṇ khatər gam gəyo
he money give-inf. for village go-pst.3ms

‘He went to village to give money.’

2.4 COORDINATION

Coordination involves the linking of two or more categories of expression with use of coordinates or coordinate junctions. The coordinates assign equal rank to the conjuncts. Bagri permits the following types of coordination to occur at the phrasal as well as the sentential levels:

- (i) Conjunction: ər ‘and ’
- (ii) Adversative conjunction: pəṇ ‘but’
- (iii) Disjunction: kɛ/jya ‘or’
- (iv) Negative disjuncton : nə.....nə ‘neither.....nor’

2.4.1 Conjunction: *ər* ‘and’

The coordinator *ər* permit coordination to occur at both the sentential and phrasal

levels:

- (71) s[surəj chipyo ər mɛ̃ gəyo]
 sun set-pst.3ms and I go-pst.1ms

‘The sun set and I went.’

- (72) bɔ̃ vɸ[hãsyɔ ər hath həlayɔ]
 he laugh-pst.3ms and hand wave-pst.3ms

‘He laughed and waved.’

- (73) tɛ̃ pɸ[merɛ (syũ) ər móən syũ] bat kəri
 you I-acc/dat from and Mohan from talk do-pst.

‘You spoke to me and Mohan.’

- (74) [sóən ər móən] a gya
 Sohan and Mohan come go-pst.3mp

‘Sohan and Mohan arrived.’

- (75) a. tũ aɸ[pisãlo ər laɖlo] hɛ to apɸɛ ghar mɛ̃

you rich and lovely aux-prst then refl. house in

‘You may be rich and lovely in your own house.’

- b. bɔ̃ [pisãlo ər mhəsɹ] donũ hɛ
 he rich and famous both be-prst.3ms

‘He is both rich and famous.’

Sentences (73-75) illustrate that two independent clauses as well as two verb phrases, adjective phrases, noun phrases, and postpositional phrases may be coordinated with *ər*. Coordinate sentences express contrast, cumulative effect, cause and effect, sequential action and contingency. The order of the conjuncts is interchangeable if a coordinate sentence expresses contrast or cumulative effect.

(76) Contrast-

- a. ó admi cokho hɛ ər bó (admi) maɾo hɛ
 this.ms man good.ms is and that.msman bad.ms is
 'This man is good and that man is bad.'

- b. bó admi maɾo hɛ ər ó admi cokho hɛ

(77) Cumulative effect-

- a. bó daru piwɛ hɛ ər miɬ khawɛ hɛ
 he wine drink-prst.ms is and meat eat-prst.ms is
 'He drinks wine and eats meat.'

- b. bó miɬ khawɛ hɛ ər daru piwɛ hɛ

(78) Cause and effect-

- a. bəŋ achi pəɖai kəri ər pas hoyo
 he+erg.mk good study.f do-pst.fs and pass be-pst.ms
 'He studied well and passed.'

- *b. bó pas hoyo ər bəŋ achi pəɖai kəri

(79) Sequential action-

- a. bō ayo ər bolyo
 he come-pst.ms and speak-pst.ms
 'He came and spoke.'
- *b. bō bolyo ər ayo

(80) Contingency

- a. the pisa dyo ər kitab lyo
 you.p money give-imp and book take-imp
 'You give money and take the book.'
- *b. the kitab lyao ər pisa dyo

The sentences (76a) and (77a) permit the reverse order of (76b) and (77b), respectively. In sentences (78a-80a) the reverse order of the conjuncts yields ill-formed output, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (78b-80b.)

2.4.2 Adversative conjunction: *pəŋ* 'but'

When two conjuncts are coordinated by an adversative conjunction *pəŋ*, it is implied that a contrast or an opposition exists between the the two conjuncts. Mostly *pəŋ* permits the coordination to occur at the sentential level:

- (81) ram piṣāḷo hɛ pəŋ tū gərib hɛ
 Ram rich aux-prst.3ms but you poor aux-prst.2ms
 'Ram is rich but you are poor.'

- (82) ó acho hoyo pə́n b'ó maꞤo (hoyo)
 this good be-pst.ms but that bad be-pst.ms

‘This happened good but that (happened) bad.’

Negation of either or both conjuncts at the sentential level is possible:

- (83) móən pətʃo koni hɛ pə́n b'ó tej hɛ
 Mohan thin not be-prst but he active be-prst.

‘Mohan is not slim but he is active.’

2.4.3 Disjunction: *kɛ / jya* ‘or’

The disjunctive particles *kɛ / jya* ‘or’, *kɛ...kɛ* ‘either’ ‘or,’ etc. express that one of the two alternatives can be realized:

- (84) NP[cá kɛ kophi] ke pioga?
 tea or coffee what drink-fut.2ms

‘What will you drink-tea or coffee?’

- (85) Ø_{DET}[do kɛ tin] dIn lagɛga
 Ø two or three days take-fut.3mp

‘It will take me two or three days.’

- (86) s[Ø dud lyoga kɛ Ø dhəi]?
 Ø milk take-fut.2ms or Ø curd

‘What will you take-milk or curd?’

Sentences (84-86) illustrated the use of unmarked disjunctive *kɛ* at the phrasal level :

sentence (86), however, receives a sentential level interpretation because of the inclusion of the verb phrase in it.

(87) ram kɛ/jya syam
 Ram or shyam

‘Either Ram or Shyam.’

The marker *jya* / *kɛ* are capable of preceding any disjoined element or category:

(88)a. jya ram jya syam

b. kɛ ram kɛ syam

Either Ram or Shyam

2.4.4 Negative disjunction: *nẽ.....nẽ* ‘neither...nor’

It is expressed by means of substituting *nẽ*, a negative particle for *jya*:

(89) nã ram ayo nã syam
 neg ram come-pst.ms neg shyam

‘Neither Ram nor shyam came.’

Disjoined masculine and feminine nouns show that the verb agrees with the nearest disjunct:

(90) mero choro jya meri chori anɛ lagri hɛ
 my boy or my daughter come prst.fs is

‘Either my son or my daughter is coming.’

*(90)a. mero choro jya meri chori anɛ lagrya hɛ
 my boy or my daughter come prst.ms is

‘Either my son or my daughter is coming.’

*b. mero choro jya meri chori anɛ lagrya hɛ
 my boy or my daughter come prst.mp are

‘Either my son or my daughter are coming’.

2.5 NEGATION

In Bagri, sentence negation is expressed by four negative particles: *koni*, *ko*, *nā*, and *nēi*. *koni* and *ko* represent the unmarked negative particles and are equalent to English 'not'; whereas *nā* and *nēi* are used in subjunctive, imperative, conditional, neither...nor constrution, and infinitive phrases. Some distributive properties of negative particles are exemplified in sentences (91-94):

(91) koni

mē ghər koni gəyo
I house neg. go-pst.1ms

'I did not go to house.'

(92) ko

mē kitab ko pəḍi
I book.f neg. rend-pst.fs

'I did not read the book.'

(93) nā

tū nā ja
you neg. go-imp.s

'you do not go.'

(94) nēi

mero gam nēi jaṇo ṭhik hē
my village neg. go-inf right is

'It is right for me not to go there.'

As the examples (91-94) demonstrate the negative particle can appear in preverbal position in a negative sentence.

Negative structures trigger a number of deletion processes. This explains the presence of various deletion rules such as auxillary deletion, copula deletion and operator nonspecification.

(95) Auxillary deletion rule

a. bό jawε hε
 he go-prst.ms is
 'He goes.'

*b. bό jawε
 he go-prst.ms
 'He goes.'

The negation of (95a) is (96):

(96) bό koni jawε i.e; hε--ø
 he neg. go-prst.ms
 'He does not go.'

The auxillary element *hε* in (95a) undergoes deletion in negtive structures.

(97) Copula deletion

(97)a. bό bətt̩hε hε
 he there is
 'He is there.'

*b. bό bətt̩hε i.e, hε--ø
 he there
 'He is there.'

The negative counterpart of (89a) is (89c):

- (97)c. bó bəṭṭhə koni i.e, hɛ--∅
 he there neg.

‘He is not there.’

The fact that positive sentences such as (95b) and (97b) are ill-formed in the absence of the auxillary/copula element *hɛ* is evidence that copula and auxillary deletion are deletion rather than insertion rules. The insertion of negation and compound verbs motivates a surface deletion rather than insertion rules.

The insertion of negation and compound verbs motivates a surface deletion which could termed as operator deletion/non specification rule.

(98) Operator deletion/non-specification rule

- (98)a. bəṇ kagət likhyo
 he+erg letter.ms write-pst.ms

‘He wrote a letter.’

- (98)b. bəṇ kagət likh liyo
 he+erg. letter.ms write take-prst.ms

‘ He wrote a letter (for his own benifit).’

- (98)c. bəṇ kagət likh diyo
 he+erg letter.ms write give pst.ms

‘He wrote a letter (for someone else’s benefit).’

The corresponding negation of (98 a-c) is (98d).

- (98)d. bəṇ kagət koni likhyo
 he+erg letter.ms neg. write-pst.ms

‘He did not write a letter.’

The placement of negation in proverbal position of a compound verb in (98b) and (98c) yields ill-formed output.

The constraint of the preverbal position of negation is violated under two conditions (i) contrastive negation, and (ii) disjunctive structures. These are exemplified in (99-100). In the post verbal position, the scope of negation is limited either to the verb or the aspect only.

- (99) mē kagəṭ likhyo koni, likhūgo
 I letter.ms write-pst.ms neg. write-fut.1ms
 'I did not write a letter (but will write).'

The major difference between four negative particles: *koni*, *ko*, *nā* and *nāi* is that it is only the *koni* that can be placed at postverbal position, others are not.

- (99)*a. mē kagəṭ likhyo ko/nā/ nāi, likhūgo

Negative disjunction is expressed by means of *nā* or *nāi* :

- (100) nā/nāi ram ayo nā/nāi syam
 neg. ram come-prst.ms shyam came.
 'Neither Ram nor Shyam came.'

2.5.1 Constituent negation

To mark the constituent negation, a number of devices are there in Bagri. One such device is to stress the constituent to be negated. Another is to allow the negative particle to follow the negated constituent

(101) Stress-

bó	kal	ghəre	koni	gəyo
he	yesterday	house	neg.	go-pst.3ms

‘He did not go home yesterday.’

(102) Negative particle following the constituent to be negated-

bó	ghəre	koni	dəphtər	gəyo
he	home	neg.	office	go-pst.3ms

‘He did not go home but to the office.’

2.5.2 Double negation

Though Bagri allows one negative per clause in finite verb, but in nōn-finite verbs double negation is possible.

(103)a. koi bətt̪hɛ kədei koni gəyo
 someone there ever neg. go-pst.ms

‘No one ever went there.’

(103)*b. koi bətt̪hɛ kədei koni koni gəyo

(103)*c. koi koni bətt̪hɛ kədei koni gəyo

(104)a. kam nā kəɾ̪no acho koni hɛ
 work neg. do-inf good neg.aux

‘It is not good not to work.’

(104)b. nā kam kəɾ̪no acho koni hɛ

It is clear from the examples (103) and (104) that double negation is possible only in the sentences having non-finite verbs.

2.6 ANAPHORA

'Anaphora is a label to refer to the referentially-dependent NP types: reflexives and reciprocals. Anaphors receive a referential interpretation by virtue of being bound by an antecedent (Haegeman, 1995: 211). There are several devices of expressing anaphora.-(i) deletion (ii) deletion where element is marked on the verb morphology (iii) ordinary personal pronoun, and (iv) reflexive pronoun

2.6.1 Deletion

Deletion is the most prominent device for expressing anaphora in discourse.

(105) ek din ek maṣṭar_i ek chorε_j nε milyo
 one day one teacher one boy acc.pp meet-pst.3ms

 ø_i ø_j bolyo 'tū kuṇ hε ?'
 ø ø speak-pst.3ms you who aux-prst.2ms
'Once upon a time a teacher met a boy.(He) said (to him), 'who are you?'

Anaphoric subject (the teacher) and object (the boy) become accessible by means of deletion/zero anaphora (ø). In the second sentence they are recoverable from the first sentence.

2.6.2 Deletion where element is marked on the verb

Since the verb agrees either with the subject or object in number, gender, and person, the subjects and objects may be deleted as in (98)-

(106) mōēn_i dinəgə ut̪h̪yo ø_i cá_j pi
 Mohan morning wake-up-pst.ms ø_i tea.fs drink-pst.fs

 ø_i ø_j pige bolyo
 ø ø drink+abs.ppl speak-pst.ms

‘Mohan woke up in the morning.(He) drank tea. Having drunk (tea)(he) spoke.’

2.6.3 Ordinary personal pronoun

Anaphoric elements are frequently third person, and they are often expressed by personal pronouns.

(107) choro ør chori aya. bá. boli
 boy and girl come-pst.mp she speak-pst.fs

‘ A boy and a girl came.She speak.’

2.6.4 Reflexive pronouns

Possessive and emphatic reflexive pronouns are used to express anaphora, as in (108) and (109), respectively.

(108) bəŋ_(i) apgə_(i) chore syũ puchyo
 he+erg. refl. boy from ask-pst.ms

‘He_i asked his_i son.’

(109) sóēn ayo. khud chore syũ puchyo
 Sohan come-pst.ms emph. boy from ask-pst.ms

‘Sohan came. (He) himself asked the boy.’

2.6.5 Domain of anaphora

(a) Within the clause-

Clause internal anaphora is required for the use of reflexive pronouns. Personal pronouns are not employed for this purpose.

- (110) sóən apɳə ap pər nijər geri
 Sohan refl. on glance.fs throw-pst.fs

‘Sohan glanced at himself.’

- (111) sóən_i apɣə_i chorɛ sagɛ ayo
 Sohan refl. boy.obl.ms~ with come-pst.3ms

‘Sohan_i came with his_i son.’

(b) Between the coordinate structures

Anaphora between coordinate structures is usually forward and is marked primarily by deletion and secondarily by pronominalization. Although anaphora is generally forward, context may permit backward anaphora, too.

- (112) gita ai ər ø_i / bá bethi
 Gita come-pst.ms and ø/ she sit-pst.fs

‘Gita came and sat down, or
 Gita_i came and she_i sat down.’

- (112) a. ø_i / bá_{i,j} ai ər gita bethi
 ø/she come-pst.fs and gita sit-pst.fs

(she_i) came and gita_i sat down.

- (112)b. \emptyset_i apgi chori sage ai $\emptyset r$ gita bethi
 \emptyset refl. daughter with come-pst.fs and gita sit-pst.fs

‘(she_i) came with her_i daughter and gita sat.’

It should be emphasized that backward anaphora by deletion and pronominalization needs the employment of context. Sentences such as (112b) show that backward anaphora with reflexive pronoun is possible and the zero anaphora (\emptyset) functions as the controller of the reflexive pronouns. Coordinated noun phrases mark anaphora by means of pronominalization is the constraint on postposition standing.

- (112)c. gita_i $\emptyset r$ - b \bar{i} _i gi chori bethi
 Gita and she gen.fs daughter sit-pst.fs

‘Gita_i and her_i daughter sat down.’

- (112)*d. gita $\emptyset r$ $\emptyset f$ gi chori bethi

2.7 REFLEXIVES

In Bagri, reflexivity is expressed through ‘agentive reflexives’. *apnε.ap* ‘self’ followed by case marker, such as (113a-c):

- (113)a. mē apnε ap nε sisε mē dekhyo
 I myself acc. mirror in see-pst.ms

‘I saw my self in the mirror.’

- (113)b. tē apnε ap nē sisε mē dekhyo
 you.s yourself acc. mirror in see-pst.ms

‘You saw yourself in the mirror.’

- (113)c. bəṇ aṇḁ ap nẽ sisẽ mẽ dekhi
 she+erg herself acc.mirror in see-pst.fs

‘She saw herself in the mirror.’

The reflexives may be used in all cases. In nominative oblique case, however, *aṇḁ* *ap* does not take any case marker. Illustrated in sentences (114a-f) are the case markings of reflexives in all cases:

- (114)a. Nominative (Agentive) case: *aṇḁ ap*

ram aṇḁ ap pəḍḍẽ hẽ
 Ram himself read-prst.3ms aus

‘Ram reads by himself.’

- (114)b. Nominative (oblique) case: *aṇḁ ap + ∅*

mẽ aṇḁ ap kitab paḍḍi
 I+∅ refl. book.fs read-pst.fs

‘I read the book myself.’

- (114)c. Accusative case: *aṇḁ ap + nẽ*

bəṇ aṇḁ ap nẽ keyo
 he+erg. refl. acc. say-pst.3ms

‘He told to himself.’

- (114)d. Instrumental case: *aṇḁ ap + syũ*

mənnẽ aṇḁ ap pẽn syũ likhno hẽ
 I+ acc refl. pen from write-inf aux

‘I myself have to write with a pen.’

(114)e. Dative case: *apṇε ap + khatər*

bo	apṇε ap	khatər kitab	lyayo
he	refl.	dat. book	bring-pst.3ms

‘He brought himself a book.’

(114)f. Ablative case: *apṇε ap + syū*

dərkhat	go	pətto	apṇε ap	syū	pəryo
tree	of	leaf	refl.	abl	fall-pst.3ms

‘The leaf fell down from the tree.’

(114)g. Locative case: *apṇε ap + mē / pər*

ram	apṇε ap	mē	kəmi	dekhi
Ram	refl.	loc	mistake.f	see-pst.fp

‘Ram saw mistakes in himself.’

(114)h. Possessive case: *apṇε ap + go / gi / ga*

bəṇ	apṇε	apgi	kitab	binnē	di
he+erg.	refl.	poss.	book.f	him	give-pst.fs

‘He gave him his book.’

In the examples given above there are no distinct pronomial reflexives pronouns for each pronoun. The example (115) indicates that a non-coreferential object does not take a reflexive form; instead it selects a non-reflexive form. Dative subject controls reflexivisation as in (116).

(115) ram_i apṇε ap gε_i / bī_j gε sage bolyo
 Ram refl. obl. / he of with speak-pst.ms

‘Ram talked with himself / him.’

(116) ram nē apṇε ap gε / * bī gε sage bolṇo piṣēnd he
 Ram dat.pp refl. *he of with speak-inf like aux

‘Ram (dative) likes to talk with himself / *him.’

- (116) a. bəŋ apŋɛ ap(nɛ̃) boɖ diyo
 he+erg. refl. dat.pp vote give-pst-ms

‘He voted for himself.’

Reflexivization applies within a clause and allows forward application only. The example given below explains the ill-formedness of the following sentence:

- *(116) b. apŋɛ ap mɛ̃ (nɛ̃) boɖ diyo
 refl.obl I dat.pp vote give-pst.ms

‘I voted for myself.’

Examples such as (116b) clearly show that only the subject controls the reflexive pronouns. In possessive structures, the possessive reflexive form *apgo* ‘self’ is used in place of possessive pronouns such as Hindi *mera* (my), *tumhara* (your). When the possessive reflexive, *apgo* is used, the possessor is the same as the agent of the action or the subject. *apgo* agrees with the following head NP in terms of number and gender- *apgo* (ms), *apga* (mp), *apgi* (fs), *apgi* (fp).

- (117) mɛ̃_i ap go_i / mero kam kərũ hũ
 I refl.ms/*my.ms work do-prst.ms aux

‘I do my work.’

- (118) bəŋ_i apgo_i / bĩ go kam kəryo
 he+erg refl.ms / hiis.ms work do-pst.ms

‘He_i did his_i work.’

(118) a. bəŋ_i bīgo_j / apgo kam kəryo
 he+erg his.ms /*refl.ms work do-pst.ms

‘He did.’

(118) b. bɛ́_i apga_i / bā ga_j kam karɛ hɛ
 they refl.mp their.mp work do-prst.mp aux

‘They_i do their_{i,j} work.’

In (118a) the non-reflexive pronoun yields well formed output because the subject and the possessive pronoun are not coreferential. The possessive structure permits reduplicated reflexives, as in (119).

(119) bɛ́ apgɛ apgɛ ghər gəya
 they refl.poss.mp houses.mp go-pst.mp

‘They went to their respective houses.’

The scope of reflexivity in Bagri is generally restricted to the clause, as in (120-121).

(120) sita keyo {kɛ ba / ap bəʔt̪hɛ pəɛgi}
 sita ask-pst.fs that she / refl. there read-fut.3fs

‘Sita_i said that she_i would study there.’

(121) ram puchyo {kɛ bī go / apgo babo kəd awɛgo}
 ram ask-pst.ms that he gen.ms refl.ms father when come-fut.3ms

‘Ram_i asked when his_i brother would come.’

The sentences in (120) and (121) provide evidence that reflexivization does not go down into subordinate clauses. However reflexivization does not always meet the clause-mate constraint, as shown in the following sentences.

- (122) ram_i [syam_j nẽ apgo_{i,j} dūsməŋ səməjɛ hɛ]
 Ram Shyam to refl. enemy consider-prst.ms aux
 ‘Ram_i considers Shyam_j his_{i,j} enemy.’

Sentence (122) has following two readings :

- (122)a. ram_i manɛ hɛ [kɛ syam ram_i go dūsməŋ hɛ]
 Ram consider-prst.ms āux. that shyam ram gen.ms enemy aux
 ‘Ram considers that Shyam is Ram’s enemy.’

- (122)b. ram manɛ hɛ [kɛ syam_i syam_i go dūsməŋ hɛ]
 Ram consider-prst.ms aux. that shyam shyam gen.ms enemy aux
 ‘Ram considers that Shyam is Shyam’s enemy.’

Sentence (122 b) is capable of yielding a reflexive pronoun whereas the reflexive pronoun *apnɛ ap* cannot occur in (122a) due to its clause boundedness. It appears that in (122a), reflexivization applies only after the finite subordinate clause becomes non-finite and is raised to the object position of the matrix sentence. Within a clause a reflexive pronoun occupies the same positions that any pronoun is capable of occupying. The only restriction is that the antecedent of a reflexive pronoun must be the subject of its clause.

2.8 RECIPROCALs

The reciprocal relations in Bagri are expressed by means of *ek dusrε*, composed of the cardinal *ek* 'one' and the oblique form of the ordinal numeral *dusro* 'second.' Another way of forming reciprocals is by means of *apsəri mē* 'among each other.' The reciprocal *ek dusrε* can take any postposition, but *apsəri* take only *mē* 'among / in' postposition, as--

- (123) ram ər sita ekdusrε nē miṭhaiā di
 Ram and sita eachother acc/dat sweets give-pst.fp
 'Ram and Sita gave sweets to each other.'

- (124) ram ər sita apsəri mē miṭhaiā bāṭi
 Ram and sita each other among sweets distribute-pst.fp
 'Ram and Sita distributed sweets among each other.'

The scope of reciprocity is restricted to the clause.

- (125) mhe ek dusrε syū ləṛya
 we one another with fight-pst.mp
 'We fought with one another.'

- (126) bā' keyo kε mhe ek dusrε syū ləṛya
 they.obl say-pst.ms that we one another with fight-pst.mp
 'They said that we fought with one another.'

Reciprocals, like reflexives normally require an antecedent subject. Sometimes reciprocals may be used as a subject to fulfill the function of the universal qualifier, as in (127a)

(127) Subject

(127a) mhe parti mē gəya, bəṭṭhe ek dusre apga nam bəṭaya
 We party in go-pst.ms there one another gen.refl name tell-pst.ms
 ‘We went to party, there everyone told their names.’

(128) Direct object

(128a) chore ər chori ek dusre nē dekhyā
 Boy and girl one other dat.pp see-pst.mp
 ‘The boy and the girl saw each other.’

(129) Indirect object

(129a) mhe ek dusre nē topha diya
 We one other dat.pp gifts give-pst.mp
 ‘The boy and the girl saw each other.’

(130) Adverb

(130a) bē ek dusre syū niraj hē
 they one other with unhappy aux
 ‘They are unhappy with each other.’

(131) Possessive ‘adjective’

bē ek dusre ge ghare jawe he
 they one another of house go-prst.mp aux
 ‘They go to one another’s house.’

An example of *apsəri mē* ‘among each other’ is as follows:

- (132) bē apsəri mē koni bolē
 they mutual in neg speak-prst.mp

‘They do not talk among each other.’

Reciprocals do not appear at copular complements, e.g

- *(133) ó bhed apsəri/ ek dusre mē hē
 thissecret mutual/one another in aux

‘This secret is between one another.’

Reciprocal structures without antecedents are possible if the antecedent is understood either syntactically (as in imperative sentences) or contextually.

- (134) ek dusre sage nā ləro
 one another with neg. fight-imp

‘(You) don’t fight with each other.’

2.9 COMPARISON

In Bagri, comparison is expressed by means of sentential, phrasal and morphological strategies. Sentential comparison is carried out by means of two clauses (finite)

introduced by the relative marker *jitto* ‘as much as’ and the correlative marker *bitto* ‘that much’.

- (135) bó bitto kaḷo koni hē [jitto kaḷo bīgo bhai hē]
 he that much.cor black neg. aux as much as black he-gen.ms brother aux

‘He is not as dark as his brother.’

As is the case in relative clauses, three orders are permitted : sentence-initial relative clause, immediately following the corrective *bitto* as an adjective, and sentence-final relative clause. In morphological comparison, the suffix *-ero/ -eri/-era* is used with adjectives ending in *-o/- i/-a* according to the number, person, and gender of the adjective to signify comparative degree, e.g. *bədo* 'big', *bədero* 'bigger/ elder'. Morphological comparison has very few examples in Bagri. As definite adjectives (discussed in 3.1.6.2), which also change for gender, number, and person may be made by suffixing these above said suffixes.

- (136) mōən mero bədo bhai hε
 Mohan my big brother is

'Mohan is my elder brother.'

- (137) mōən sōən syū bədero hε
 Mohan sohan from elder is

'Mohan is elder to Sohan.'

Phrasal comparison is expressed by a postposition associated with the standard of comparison. The commonly used postpositions are: *syū* 'than', *gε mukabε (mē)* 'in comparison with'. An adjective or adverb follows the adverb:

- (138) ram syam syū / gε mukabε (mē) thik hε
 Ram Shyam from in comparison good is

'Ram is better than Shyam.'

The postposition *mẽ* 'in' following the two standards of comparison can also signal phrasal comparison, as exemplified by the following paraphrase of (138).

- (138a) ram ər syam mẽ ram ʈhik hɛ
 Ram and Shyam in Ram good is
 'Ram is better than Shyam.'

Adjectives involved in a comparison can be modified either by an adverb of degree or by *bəɖge* 'more'.

- (139) ram syam syũ jada / bəɖge ʈhik hɛ
 Ram Shyam from more good is
 'Ram is better than Shyam.'

Correlative comparison is carried out by the sequential comparison strategy, i.e. by means of *jitto...bitto*.

- (140) [bó jitto jada suno hɛ] bitto jada murəkh hɛ
 he as much as rel more handsome is that much cor more fool is
 'He is as foolish as handsome he is.'

The relative clause can follow the correlative clause. This construction does not allow the use of comparative postposition *syũ* 'than'.

Superlative comparison is carried out by substituting *sé / sara / səgla* 'all' for the standard of comparison followed either by the postposition *syũ* 'from' or *mẽ*

‘in’. *koi* or ‘someone else’ plus the negative particle is the another way of forming superlative comparison (141a).

- (141) ram sɛ̃ syũ / mɛ̃ təkro hɛ
 Ram all than / in great is

‘Ram is the greatest of all.’

- (141a) ram syũ bəɖge koi or takro koni
 Ram than go beyond-abs.ppl someone else powerful neg.

‘No one is more powerful than Ram.’

Superlatives are also formed by substituting the adjective of comparison for *sɛ̃/sara / sɛgla* ‘all’. It also serves as the standard of comparison, as follows.

- (142) cokhɛ syũ / mɛ̃ cokho
 good.obl than / in good

‘...best...’

- (143) maɾɛ syũ / mɛ̃ maɾo
 bad.obl than / in bad

‘....worst....’

In (142) the object of the postpositional phrase takes its oblique form because the adjective ends in /-o/ and it is followed by the postposition *syũ* ‘than/from’. The postposition intervenes between the reduplicated adjectives.

2.10 EQUATIVES

Equatives in Bagri are similar to comparatives and are of two types: (i) syntactic, and (ii) phrasal.

(i) The syntactic types of equatives are composed of two clauses termed *jitto* ‘as much’

and *bitto* ‘that much’ clauses and the subject and the standard of comparison receive an equative adjective or adverb. The negative particle is not used in equative sentences.

- (144) *bó* *bitto* *cokho* *hɛ* [*jitto* *bīgo* *bhai*]
 he that much.cor good is as much rel he+gen.ms brother
 ‘He is as good as his brother.’

jyā ‘which way’ and *biyā* ‘that way’ also introduce an equative structure in Bagri-

- (145) [*jyā* *bó* *hɛ*] *biyā* *bīgo* *bhai*
 as-rel he is that-way he+gen.ms brother.
 ‘He is like his brother.’

(ii) The phrasal type of equatives employ adjectives such as *bərabər* ‘equal’ *bərgo* ‘like’, and the particle *jisyo* ‘like/-ish-’ which in turn behaves like a postposition.

- (146) *ram* *chorɛ* *bərabər/bərgo/jisyo* *hɛ*
 Ram boy.obl equal/like/like/-ish is
 ‘Ram is equal to a boy/ boy like /boyish.’

bərgi and *jisi* are the feminine singular forms of *bərgo* and *jisyo*, respectively. the position of *bərgo*, *jisyo* after a noun and their ability to convert the masculine singular *choro* into its oblique form *chorɛ* are evidence that they are postpositions. Although adjectives precede nouns; however, the three items in question follow a noun.

The adjective *bərgo* and the particle *jisyo* employed by a equational copular sentence if the subject and the object comparison are conjoined. In such an instance, the equative adjective and particle are further modified by *ek(i)* ‘one’.

- (147) *bó* *ər* *mē* *ek(i)* *bərga / jisya* *hā*
 he and I one like are

‘He and I are alike.’

- (147a) *gitu* *ər* *bī* *gi* *ma* *ek(i)* *bərga / jisya* *he*
 GITU and he gen.fs mother one like.mp are

‘GITU and his mother are alike.’

The copular complement takes masculine plural form with conjoined subject. The feminine plural copular complement is also possible with conjoined feminine nouns. Coordinate

nouns take plural verb forms whereas in the case of conjoined pronouns, the verbs agrees with the standard of comparison. Deletion of identical elements, including verbs, is allowed by equative structures. Deletion is forward and not backward .

(148) ram bitto cokho hε [jitta (cokha) bέ chora (hε)].
 Ram that much-cor. good.ms is as much-rel. good.mp those boys are

‘Ram is as good as those boys are.’

The deletion of bracketed elements yields (148a).

(148a) ram bitto cokho hε [jitta ø bέ chora ø]
 Ram that much-cor. good.ms is as much-rel. ø those boys.mp ø

‘Ram is as good as those boys are.’

It is noticed that even the third person plural copula verb *hε* can be deleted. This shows that verb must be identical except for number and gender.

The backward deletion generates ill formed output, as in (148b).

*(148b) ram bitto ø ø [jitta (cokha) bέ chora (hε)]

2.11 POSSESSIVES

Possession is indicated by the use of verb *hono* ‘to be’. What is important is that possessive structures are sensitive to the concepts of alienable vs. inalienable, permanent vs. temporary possession, and the animacy of the possessor which, in turn, assign a variety of postpositions to the subject. Since any subject when followed by a postposition fails to control verb agreement, in possession structures the verb agrees with the object, i.e. the possessed item.

A list below exhibits the influence of the type of possessor and possession on the selection of the subject postposition:

(149)	<u>Possessor</u>	<u>Possession</u>	<u>Subject postposition</u>
a.	Animate	alienable	gε kənnε 'near / possession'
		(concrete objects)	
b.	Animate	inalienable	ga / go / gε 'possessive'
		(relationships, body parts)	
c.	Inanimate	alienable	mē 'in'
		(concrete objects)	
d.	Animate	permanent	mε 'in'
		(qualities, emotions)	
e.	Animate	temporary	nē 'to'
		(feelings, sensations)	

Observing the following sentences in this regard :

(150) Animate possessor-alienable possession.

(150a)	bī	gε	kənnε	kitabā	hε
	he	gen.ms.obl	near / poss	book.p	are
	'He has books.'				

(151) Animate possessor-inalienable possession

(151a)	bī	gε	cyar	chora	hε
	he	gen.mp	four	boy.mp	are
	'He has four sons.'				

(152) Inanimate possessor-alienable possession

- (152a) *kamre mē cyar mejā hē*
room.ms.obl in four table.fpare

‘The room has four tables.’

(153) Animate possessor-permanent possession

- (153a) *ram mē himmēt hē*
Ram in courage is

‘Ram has courage.’

(154) Animate possessor-temporary possession

- (154a) *mənnē khusi hē*
I+to happiness is

‘I have happiness.’

In all the sentences above the verb agrees with the object, i.e. the element of possession. Present and past possession are also expressed indirectly. The former is expressed with the present copular verb and by modifying the possession element by modifiers such as *pəkko* ‘permanent’, *kəcco* ‘temporary’

- (155) *bī gi nokri pəkki hē*
he gen.fs job permanent is

‘He has a permanent job.’

- (155a) *bī gē kēi nokər hōta ha*
he gen.mp several servant.mp be-pst were

‘He used to have several servants.’

Past possessions are denoted by conjugating the verb ‘to be’ in its past / past habitual tense (155a).

2.12 EMPHASIS

Emphasis serves to draw particular attention to some element in a sentence or utterance, either to place that element in focus or to contrast it with some other element. Bagri is rich in terms of expressing emphasis and it is primarily conveyed by means of intonation, particles, movements and repetition of elements.

Emphasis works at two levels (i) Sentence emphasis, and (ii) Constituent emphasis:

2.12.1 Sentence emphasis

Sentence emphasis is expressed in number of ways: by intonation, particles and adverbials. There are two types of sentence emphasis- (A) non-contradictory and (B) contradictory

(A)Non contradictory emphasis:

It is expressed by raising pitch to the highest level /3/ at the verbal element of a non-emphatic sentence. Sentence (156a), for example, represents an emphatic counterpart of the non-emphatic sentence (156).

(156) 2 1
 mẽ gam gəyo
 I village go-pst.ms

 ‘I went to the village.’

(156a) 1 2 3
 mẽ gam gəyo
 ‘I went to the village.’

The addition of emphatic particles to an already emphatic sentence such as (156a) further enhances the force of emphasis, as in (156b)

- (156b)
- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|----|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | | ¹ | ² | ³ |
| hā, | hā | mē | gam | gəyo | |
| yes | yes | I | village | go-pst.ms | |

‘Of course, undoubtedly, I went to the village.’

The most widely used non-emphatic particles in Bagri are as follow-

- (157) *kε* ‘after all / that’s all’

It appears that the emphatic particle *kε* is result of reduction of *kε koni* ‘or not’ and occupies the same position in a sentence as does *kε nēi*

- (157a)
- | | | | | |
|---------|------|------------|-----|------------|
| bəṇ | ó | keyo | ho | kε |
| he-erg. | this | say-pst.ms | was | emph.part. |

‘He did say this.’

Example (157a) is paraphrase of (157b)-

- (157b)
- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|------------|-----|----|------|
| bəṇ | ó | keyo | ho | kε | koni |
| he-erg | this | say-pst.ms | was | or | neg. |

‘He said this or not.’

- (158) Adverbs

Adverbs such as *jərur* ‘certainly’ also render a sentence with non-contradictory emphasis.

- (158a)
- | | | |
|----|-----------|--------------|
| bó | jərur | awεgo |
| he | certainly | come-fut.3ms |

‘He will certainly come.’

(B) Contradictory emphasis:

It is carried out by repetition of the negative particle which introduces a negative sentence.

- (159) nəĩ, nəĩ bó koni awəgo
 neg. neg. he neg. come-fut.3ms

‘No, no he will not come.’

The negative particle placed immediately after a constituent signifies contradictory constituent emphasis, as in

- (159a) mē nəĩ bən- ó kam kəryo
 I neg. he-erg this work do-pst.3ms

‘It was not me but him who did this work.’

(160) Particles

Another way of expressing contradictory emphasis is by means of particle *səĩ* ‘correct’ which highlights the minimum condition in contrast with a desirable condition to perform an act. When combined with a stress, it conveys warning by the meaning ‘dare not’. The particle *səĩ* is often preceded by another constituent particle *to*.

- (160a) bó awə to səĩ
 he come emph.contra emph.

‘The least he could do is to come,’

The particle *səĩ* occurs postverbally.

2.12.2 Constituent emphasis

Constituent emphasis is expressed in a number of ways: by the use of stress, emphatic particles, movement clefting, and iteration, or a combination of two or more of those.

(A) Emphatic stress :

For the purpose of contrastive stress any element of a sentence may be stressed. Placing stress on four different constituents yields for different contrastive readings.

(161) mē kal ghəre gəyo
 I yesterday home-loc go-pst.ms

I went home yesterday.

I went home yesterday.

I went home yesterday.

I went home yesterday.

The item corresponding to the underlined word receives stress prominence in (161). In a non-emphatic sentence, all members of a sentence receive equal prominence by receiving almost equal stress.

(B) Emphatic particles:

Four emphatic particles - *i* 'only', *je* 'if', *to* and *thoro* are important devices to mark constituent emphasis in Bagri-

(162) /i/ (exclusive)-

The particle /i/ can follow any constituent of a noun phrase as in (162a-b) . The variant is restricted to formal speech alone.

(162a) ek lal kitab
 one red book

‘One red book.’

(162b) ek i lal kitab
 one only.emph red book

‘ A / one red book.’

(163) /to/ (contrastive)-

The particle /to/ is homophonous with the postposition ‘on/at’ and the ‘and’ coordinator. Like the particle /i/, it can be used with any constituent of a noun phrase. This particle implies a contrastive negative statement , as in (163 a-c)

(163a) kitab to cokhi hε
 Book.fs contra good.fs is

‘As far as the book is concerned it is good.’

(163b) nūi to kar hε
 new contra car is

‘As regards the car, it is new.’

(163c) do to admi aya
 two contra. car come-pst.mp

‘Atleast two men came.’

This particle may be preceded by another emphatic particle, as in (163d)

- (163d) mẽ huĩ to gərib
 I emph.part. contra. poor
 ‘I am certainly poor.’

The above sentence also indicates the particle *huĩ* can be employed as a marker of constituent emphasis when placed in other than post-sentential position.

- (164) /je/ (a sort of reason particle)

The use of /je/ follows the pattern of the particle /i/ and /to/, i.e. it can follow any constituent of a sentence.

- (164a) mẽ je gəyo
 I reason.part go-pst.ms
 ‘For / since I went.’

- (164b) mẽ bəṭṭhe je gəyo
 I there reason.part go-pst.ms
 ‘If I went there.’

The unmarked order of constituents within a noun-phrase is subject to further change to mark emphasis . Any constituent of a noun-phrase can be moved to the left to make it prominent within a phrase.

- (165) bhot cokha do bĩga i chora
 very good two he.gen emph boys
 ‘Very good two sons of his’

The degree adverb together with the adjective is moved to the left in (165) from its unmarked position indicated by /i/.

Cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences are formed alternatively in Bagri by way of employing /i/ (166-168) and the relative clause structure (169), respectively.

(166) (subject)-

(166a) ó ram i hɛ jiko ʈhik hɛ
 this ram emph. is that good is

‘It is Ram who is good.’

(167) (object)-

(167a) á meri kitab i hɛ jiki cokhi hɛ
 this my book.fs emph. is that.fs good.fs is

‘It is my book that is good.’

(168) (possessor)-

(168a) bó gɛlo i ho jiko bəʈʈhɛ gəyo
 he mad emph was that there go-pst.3ms

‘He was a mad who went there.’

The same pattern is followed when adverbials and subordinate NPs undergo clefting. It is important that in the absence of the particle /i/, clefting fails to convey the desired emphasis and is pragmatically odd. Pseudo-cleft sentences begin with relative clauses, as in (169)

(169)	jiki	mẽ	dekhi	bá	kitab	hi
	rel.	I	see-pst.fs	cor.	book.fs	was

‘What I saw was a book.

2.13 PARTICLES

There is a class of words in Bagri which have no fixed place of occurrence. These may go with a word phrase or a clause. The element related to these is brought into prominence. These may be called particles or emphatics. The element emphasized may carry heavy

stress also. The place of the particles is not fixed. Following are the particles found in the dialect: /i/, /to/, and /so/

2.13.1 /i/

This emphatic particle has fairly wide range of usage in Bagri, i.e. it may occur after nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles and adverbs in a construction. A word ending in a consonant takes /ə/ before /i/. It corresponds with Hindi /bhi/. The range of its usage may be illustrated by the examples (170a-d).

(170)	mẽ	jawūgo
	I	go-fut.ms
	‘ I shall go’	

(170a)	mẽ	i	jawūgo
	I	also	go-fut.ms
	‘ I shall also go.’		

- (170b) á i sat ripiyā gi kitab hē
 this also seven rupees gen. book aux

This also a book of seven rupees.

- (170c) bəṭṭhē ghəṇa i admi hē
 there so many emph. men aux.

‘There are so many men. (emphatic)

- (170d) bó i phUṭbal khelē hē
 he also: football play-prst aux.

‘He also plays football.’ (emphatic)

Any constituent of a phrase may be emphasized with the use of particle /i/, as in

(171a-c)-

- (171a) é i tin kurṭa
 these emph. three shirts

‘These three shirts’. (these emphasized)

- (171b) é tin i kurṭa
 these three emph. shirts

‘These three shirts.’ (three emphasized)

- (171c) é tin kurṭa i
 these three shirts emph.

‘These three shirts.’ (shirts emphasized).

The particle can occur with an adverb, as in (172)

- (172) mhe tənñē kəṭṭhē i kuṭāṅga
 we you-obl. somewhere emph. beat-fut.3mp

‘We shall beat you somewhere.’

The particle can also occur with a verbal form- as in(173)and(173a)

- (173) bó jagəṭā i bhaj gyo
 he awakening emph. run go-pst.3ms

‘He ran just after awakening.’

- (173a) bó khawɛ i hɛ
 he eat-prst emph. is

‘He does eat.’

2.13.2 /to/

/to/ in Bagri is equivalent to Hindi /to/ and it has a very wide range of usage. It may occur with a noun, pronoun adjective or verb. When placed after a noun or noun-phrase, it emphasizes the meaning of the same.

- (175) acha chora to kam kəɾɛ hɛ
 good boys emph. work do-prst are

‘The good boys do work.’

Placing the particle /to/ just after an adjective, creates some emphasis about the adjective, as in (176)-

- (176) bó kaɭo to hɛ
 he black emph. is

‘He is black.’

It can be placed after a verb and creating emphasis in the action of the verb it follows.

- (177) bó jawɛ to hɛ
 he go-prst emph is

‘He does go.’

2.13.3 /so/

This particle may occur after a noun or adjective in a noun phrase construction. It behaves like an adjective as in (178a-c) and creates doubt about noun or adjective after which it is placed:

- (178a) bá choro si hɛ
 girl boy.ms like is

‘She is like a boy.’

- (178b) bó kaɭo so hɛ
 he black.ms like is

‘He is some what dark.’ (black like)

- (178c) ó gabho kaɭo so hɛ
 this cloth black like is

‘This cloth is black like.’

CHAPTER-3

MORPHOLOGY

3.1 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

3.1.1 Noun inflection

Nouns are inflected for number, gender and case in Bagri. There are two numbers - singular and plural; two genders - masculine and feminine; and three cases- simple, oblique and vocative. The nouns are declined according to their gender class, and the phonological property of their final segments. The animates are either masculine or feminine, as the neuter gender is absent in Bagri; and the inanimates follow the declension pattern either that of masculine or feminine depending on the phonological shape of the word.

There are three patterns of nominal declension of masculine and feminine nouns-

- (i) Masculine nouns ending in /-o/,
- (ii) Masculine nouns ending in other vowels ,
- (iii) All feminine nouns.

Pattern (i): Masculine nouns ending in /-o/ (like *choro* 'boy', and *jholo* 'bag')

(1)(a) Animate noun: *choro* 'boy'

Case	Sg.	Suffix	Pl.	Suffix
Direct	choro	/ø/	chora	/-a/
Oblique	chore	/-ε/	chorã	/-ã/
Vocative	chora	/-a/	choro	/-o/

(1)(b) Inanimate noun: *jhoḷo* ‘bag’

	Case	Sg.	Suffix	Pl.	
Suffix	Direct	jhoḷo	/ø/	jhoḷa	/-a/
	Oblique	jhoḷε	/-ε/	jhoḷã	/-ã/

It is clear from the above examples (1a) and (1b), that masculine singular noun, animate or inanimate, ending in /-o/ always takes the case suffix /-a/ when changed to plural. Oblique case suffix /-ε/ of masculine singular is changed to /-ã/ in plural. The vocative case suffix /-a/ in singular becomes /-o/ in plural but only in animate nouns.

Pattern (ii): Masculine nouns ending in other vowels (like *admi* ‘man’)

(2)	Case	Sg.	Suffix	Pl.	Suffix
	Direct	admi	/ ø /	admi	/ø /
	Oblique	admi	/ ø /	admiã	/-ã/
	Vocative	admi	/ ø /	admio	/-o/

These nouns of pattern (ii) remain unchanged in their plural numbers and retain the case suffix of their singulars in direct case. They use zero morpheme / ø / to show plurality in direct case, but take / -ã / case suffix in oblique case plural; and takes /-o / in vocative case to show plurality.

Pattern (iii): All the feminine singular nouns, animate and inanimate have two options which changed to plurals in direct case- (a) either retain the case suffix of their singular, or (b) may take the case suffix /-ã/ in plural. The other cases like oblique and vocative take the same case suffixes as they do in the declension of masculine nouns.

(3)(a) Animate feminine: *chori* ‘girl’

Case	Sg.	Suffix	Pl.	Suffix
Direct	chori	/ø/	chori	/ã/ø/ã /
Oblique	chori	/ø/	choriã	/-ã/
Vocative	chori	/ø/	chorio	/-o/

(3) (b) Inanimate feminine : *ghəři* ‘watch’

Case	Sg.	Suffix	Pl.	Suffix
Direct	ghəři	/ø/	ghəři/ã	/ø/-ã /
Oblique	ghəři	/ø/	ghəřiã	/-ã/

It becomes clear from the (3a) and (3b) that the feminine singular noun does not take any case suffix in directed case is marked by /ø/, but /-ã/ may also be used optionally. It is the very feature that makes the overt difference between the declensions of masculine and feminine nouns indirect case. The syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases are expressed by the case suffixes, post positions and derivational processes. To examine the role of suffixes and postpositions to convey different cases in Bagri, the examples of *choro* ‘boy’ and *chori* ‘girl’ can be cited :

(4) Masculine ending in /-o /: *choro* ‘boy’ (ms.)

Cases	Noun	Postpositions
Direct	choro	ø
Oblique	chorə	ø nẽ (acc. / dat.) syũ (inst.) pər (loc.) ga / go / gi (gen.)
Vocative	o chora	---

(5) Feminine ending in /-i/ : *chori* 'girl' (fs.)

Cases	Noun	Postposition
Direct	Chori	∅
Oblique	Chori	∅
		nē (acc. / dat .)
		syū (inst.)
		pər (loc.)
		ga / go/ gi (gen.)
Vocative	e chori	

It is clear from the above examples (4), (5) that bound suffixes such as word final /-o/ and /-ε/ in *choro* and *chorε* respectively, mark case in Bagri.

Case suffix brings forth some morphophonemic changes in the stem of a noun. However, morphophonemic change alone cannot denote case relationship.

The semantic contents of postpositions is essentially similar to that of traditional case markers. They are not affixed to nouns. With the exception of the genitive postposition /go/, which is inflected for number, gender and case, the postpositions are invariant.

(6)	ó	ram	go	ghər	hε
	this	Ram	gen.ms	house	is
	'This is Ram's house.'				

The genitive postposition *go* is not inflected indirect case.

(6a)	ram	gε	ghere	kitab	hε
	Ram	gen -obl.	house-loc	book	is
	' This book is in Ram's house.				

The *go* is inflected in oblique case and takes the case suffix */-ε/* and converts to *gε*. Likewise it is inflected from *go* in masculine singular to *ga* in masculine plural-

- (7) ram go bhai
 Ram gen.ms brother.ms

‘Ram’s brother.’

- (8) ram ga bhai
 Ram gen.mp brother-m.p

Ram’s brothers

Genitive postposition *go* changes according to the gender of the object (possessed N) as it is clear from the examples (7), (8), (9) and (10) :

- (9) ram gi kitab
 Ram gen book.fs

Ram’s book.

- (10) sita go bhai
 Sita gen brother.m.s

Sita’s brother

In example (9), the postposition *gi* is in agreement with the gender of *kitab* ‘book’. In example (10) the subject is feminine i.e. *sita*, but the genitive postposition declines according to the gender of object *bhai* ‘brother’ which is a masculine singular. In example (11) the object *bhai* is plural and the postposition *go* is inflected according to the number of object.

- (11) sita ga bhai
 Sita gen. brothers-mp

Sita’s brothers.

3.1.1.1 Gender:

Bagri distinguishes two grammatical genders - masculine and feminine. Nouns ending in */-o/*, */-ro/*, */-pəŋ/* are masculine : e.g.

(12)	choro	‘boy’
	ghoꝛo	‘horse’
	gəndəkəꝛo	‘dog’

A few nouns ending in /-i/ are also masculine(Allen, 1960: 1-13). These are nouns denoting nationality or profession :

(13)	moci	‘cobbler’
	rajəsthani	‘Rajasthani’
	pənjabi	‘Punjabi’

A few borrowed nouns ending in /-i/ are also masculine . These are Perso-Arabic in origin :

(14)	admi	‘man’
--------	------	-------

The majority of nouns ending in /-i/ are feminine; some nouns ending in /-əŋ/ are also feminine an they are related with some profession :

(15)	lugai	‘woman’
	ciri	‘bird’
	teləŋ	‘oil man’s wife’
	maləŋ	‘gardener’s wife’

3.1.1.2 Number :

In Bagri, two numbers are distinguished, singular and plural. Masculine nouns ending on a consonant or on any vowel except /-o/ do not change to form the plural case :

(16)	gam	‘village / villages’
	admi	‘man / men’
	moci	‘cobbler / cobblers’
	kitab	‘book / books’

Masculine nouns ending in /-o/ change this vowel into /-a/ to form the direct plural:

(17)	ghoṛo	‘horse’ ;	ghoṛa	‘horses’
	kutto	‘dog’ ;	kutta	‘dogs’
	jhoḷo	‘bag’ ;	jhoḷa	‘bags’
	billəṛo	‘he-cat’ ;	billəṛa	‘he-cats’

Feminine nouns, irrespective of their ending form their direct plural by adding the ending /-ā/ :

(18)	bheṇ	‘sister’ ;	bheṇā	‘sisters’
	billi	‘cat’ ;	billiā	‘cats’
	gaḷ	‘abuse’ ;	gaḷā	‘abuses’

3.1.1.3 Case:

To express syntactical relations between nouns in a sentence, Bagri uses two methods: (i) synthetic, which adds case endings to the nouns, and (ii) analytic, which combines nouns in the oblique case with auxiliary postpositions.

In addition to the three common cases to most New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages - direct, oblique and vocative (Masica, 1991) - Bagri retains synthetic forms of three other cases - instrumental, dative, and locative. These can be formed from only a limited number of nouns, however, and are used comparatively seldom, being replaced more and more by analytic formations. A table of cases and their postpositions is as follows-

Cases	Noun	Postposition
Nominative	Choro	∅
Oblique	Chorε	∅
Accusative, Dative	Chorε + nē	nε
Instrumental	Chorε + syū	syū/ū
Ablative	Chorε + syū / ū	syū/ū
Possessive / Genitive	Chorε + go/gi/ga	go(ms.)/gi(fslp.)/ga (p)

Locative	Chorε + mē/pər	mē/pər
Vocative	O chora	----

The direct case is the case in which the noun stands as subject, as the nominal part of the predicate, or as the direct object. The oblique case is not used independently. In order to express case relations it must be accompanied by postpositions, which are always understood as being present even when omitted in practice. The forms of oblique case are as follows:

Masculine nouns in /-o/ change this ending to /-ε/ to form the singular oblique case :

(19) choro ‘boy’ ; chorε nē ‘to the boy’ (acc.)

Masculine nouns ending in other than /-o/ and all feminine nouns remain unchanged in the singular oblique case :

(20) choro (m.) ‘boy’ ; chorā nē ‘to the boys (acc.)’

 təm (m.) ‘time’ ; tēmā mē ‘in times’

Feminine nouns which have the plural direct case ending in /-ā/ remain unchanged in the plural oblique :

(22) batā ‘words’ ; batā syū ‘with, by words’.

 ciṛiā ‘birds’ ; ciṛiā nē ‘to the birds’.

All other nouns take the ending /-ā/ in the plural oblique case :

(23) sṭul (m.) ‘stool’ ; sṭulā pər ‘on tables’

 kursi (f.) ‘chair’ ; kursiā pər ‘on chairs’

The vocative case is the form used to address someone. In the singular masculine, nouns ending in /-o/ take /-a/ :

- (24) o chora 'o boy' !
 o baba 'o father' !

Feminine nouns in the singular remain unchanged in vocative case.

- (25) O choro 'O boys' !
 O chorio 'O girls' !

The instrumental forms in both the numbers take the postposition -ũ.

- (27) hatũ 'with hand' hattãũ 'with hands'
 ankhũ 'with eye' ankhãũ 'with eyes'.

An ablative form in both the numbers take the case markers /-ũ/ /-syũ/ like instrumental form:

- (28) ghərũ 'from the house' ; ghərãũ 'from the house'
 koṭhẽũ 'from the room' ; koṭṭhãũ 'from the rooms' .

Locative forms are found in both singular and plural numbers. For the singular /-ɛ/ may be added or the form may coincide with the direct case:

- (29) cetɛ 'in the mind'
 atthəṇ dinəɛ 'by the evening and in the morning'
 ghəre 'in the house'

The plural locative can be formed by adding /-ã/ :

- (30) bagã 'in gardens'
 róiã 'in the fields'

3.1.1.3.1.Ergativity-

A language is said to show ergative characteristics if intransitive subject (S) is treated in the same manner as transitive subject (O), and differently from transitive subject (A) (Dixon(1987:1-16)). Relatively few languages behave ergatively at the level of

syntax; those which also exhibit ergative behaviour at the level of morphology. In the majority of languages, ergativity exists at the level of morphology (Trask (1979:385)). This holds, for instance, of the languages of the Indian subcontinent (Klaiman (1987: 61-102)).

Given intransitive and sentences, there are basically two type of languages: Nominative-accusative, in which the subject of intransitive (S) is functionally identified in some sense with the subject of intransitive (A) construction, and absolute-ergative, in which the subject of intransitive (S) construction is functionally identified with the object of transitive (O) construction. In other words the former type of language, some rules of the language treat the subjects of the intransitive and transitive constructions alike, whereas in the latter they treat the subject of intransitive and the object of the transitive constructions alike. A language may be called superficially ergative in such functional identification is confined to case-marking. In contrast, if functional identification is in terms of some transformational rules, the language under consideration is ergative in a 'deeper sense'.

In Bagri, case marking is partly inflectional and partly (as in Hindi) postpositional. Corresponding to the Hindi ergative *lərke ne* beside nominative *lərka* 'boy', Bagri has *chorɛ* beside nominative *choro* 'boy'; but oblique corresponding to the Hindi dative postposition *-ko*, Bagri too has a postposition *-nē*, as in '*chorɛ nē*' to the boy Allen(1960,84) calls *chorɛ* a special 'oblique' form of the stem, as also in Hindi *lərke kə*). This oblique form of the stem is 'identical' with the ergative inflection.

In Bagri, the absolutive seems to control verbal agreement. Verbs take ending for aspect and tense and agree in number, gender, and person with some NP in the sentence. In perfective the transitive verb in the Bagri agrees with (DO), while the intransitive verb agrees with the subject of intransitive (S) in number, gender, and person. The following examples illustrate this (31-37):

- (31) chorā rat bhər kam kəryo
 boy.mp+ø night all work.ms do-pst.ms
 ‘The boys did the work all night.’
- (32) chorε rat kàniā likhi
 boy-obl.ms night.fs. stories.fp. write-pst.fp.
 ‘The boys wrote the stories in the night.’
- (33) chori dinuge duraja kholya
 girl-obl.fs. morning.fs. doors.mp. open-pst.mp.
 ‘The girl opened the doors in the morning.’
- (34) chorε é kagət rat likhya ha
 boy-obl.ms these letters night.fs write-pst.mp. be-pst.mp.
 ‘The boy wrote these letters (last) night.’
- (35) choro kursi pər betṭhyo
 boy.ms. chair.fs. on sat-pst.ms.
 ‘The boy sat on the chair.’
- (36) chorā rat aya
 boys.mp. night.fs come.mp.
 ‘The boys came (last) night.’
- (37) choriā dinuge pugi
 girls.fp. morning.fs. reach-pst.fp.
 ‘The girls arrived in the morning.’

Sentences (31-37) show that absolutives (DO and S) are higher in the hierarchy as compared to the ergative, or the subject of transitive sentence (A), as the absolutive control the verb agreement.

In Bagri, first and second person pronouns do not take *nē* marking; whereas third person singular and plural show distinct nominative and agentive shapes, as in (38-40)

- (38) mē kitab pəḍḍi
 I+ø book.fs read-pst.fs

‘I read the book.’

- a. mhe kitabā pəḍḍi
 we+ø book.fp read-pst.fp.

‘We read books.’

- (39) tē kitab pəḍḍi
 you+ø book.fs read-pst.fs

‘You read the book.’

- a. the kitabā pəḍḍi
 you.p+ø book.fp read-pst.fp.

‘You(p) read books.’

- (40) bəṇ kitab pəḍḍi
 s/he+erg book.fs read-pst.fs

‘S/he read the book.’

- a. bā kitabā pəḍḍi
 they+erg book.fp read-pst.fp.

‘They read books.’

The nearly total disappearance of agentive case markings in the first and second persons in Bagri could not ignore the ergative constructions. As the dialect shows them in all number, person, and gender. In Bagri, there seems to be split ergativity and that too only limited to the perfective aspect.

3.1.2 Pronoun

Bagri distinguishes personal, reflexive, reciprocal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative, and emphatic pronouns. All pronouns have oblique forms, but no vocative forms. The pronouns are inflected for number and case but gender is

distinguished only in third person singular pronouns. The third person pronouns are distinguished on the remoteness/proximity dimension . Plural forms are also used as honorific pronouns.

3.1.2.1. Personal Pronouns: The personal pronouns are inflected for gender case and number. First and second person personal pronouns do not distinguish gender, proximity and remoteness. The first person does not have the oblique case, but the second person does have only in its singular number. The plurals of both first and second person do not have oblique case as is clear in (41a):

(41 a) Person	Case	Number			
		Sg.		Pl.	
First	Direct	mẽ	‘ I ’	mhe	‘we’
	Oblique	mẽ		mhe	
Second	Direct	tũ	‘you’	the	‘you’
	Oblique	tẽ		the	

(41 b) The third person personal pronouns are distinguished on the dimension of proximity and remoteness. They are also differentiated on the basis of gender.

(i) Third person (proximity):

<u>Gender</u>	<u>Case</u>	<u>Number</u>			
		Sg.		Pl.	
Masculine	Direct	Ó	‘he’	é	‘they’
	Oblique	əŋ		ã	
Feminine	Direct	á	‘she’	é	‘they’
	Oblique	əŋ		ã	

(ii) Third person (remoteness)

<u>Gender</u>	<u>Case</u>	<u>Number</u>			
		Sg.		Pl.	
Masculine	Direct	bó	‘he’	bé	‘they’
	Oblique	bəŋ		bã	
Feminine	Direct	bá	‘she’	bé	‘they’
	Oblique	bəŋ		bã	

In the first person , singular *mɛ* ‘I’ changes to plural *mhe* ‘we’ in direct case.

- (42) mɛ khelũ hũ
 I play-prst.ms aux
 ‘ I play.’

The verb is in agreement with the gender, person, number of the subject.

- (43) mhe khelã hã
 We play-prst.mp aux.
 ‘ We play.’

In the oblique case, the first person does not take ergative marker (see Ergativity

3.1.1.3.1), as is clear from the examples (44) and (45):

- (44) mɛ roṭi khai
 I bread.fs eat-pst fs
 ‘ I ate bread.’

- (45) mhe roṭi khai
 We bread.fs eat-pst.fp.
 ‘ We ate bread.’

In the second person, the singular *tũ* ‘you’ changes to *the* ‘you’ plural in the direct case.

- (46) tũ accho choro hɛ
 you good boy.ms. are
 ‘ You are a good boy.’

- (47) the accha chora ho
 you good boys.mp are
 ‘You are good boys.’

In the oblique case *tũ* ‘you’ is changed to *the* to show ergativity.

- (48) *tẽ* kitab paḍḍi
 you+ erg book.fs read-pst.fs
 ‘You read a book .’

Though separately there is no ergative marker attached to *tẽ*, but it is understood with the fact that *tẽ* is used only for the purpose of showing ergativity.

- (49) the kitab paḍḍi
 you (p.) book -read-pst.fp.
 ‘You (p.) read a book.’

It is clear from the example(49) that ergative marker does not exist in second person plural.

The third person pronoun take into consideration the dimension of remoteness and proximity. They are also distinguished on the basis of gender .On the proximity dimension, the third person singular masculine is /*õ*/ ‘he’ indirect case and it becomes /*ε*/ ‘they’ in plural number.

- (50) *õ* kitab pəḍḍε hε
 he book read-prst.ms aux.
 ‘He reads a book.’

- (51) *ε̃* kitab pəḍḍε hε
 they book read-pst.mp. aux.
 ‘They read a book.’

The third person masculine and feminine in the proximity dimension show the ergativity in the oblique case. These become *ən̄* ‘s/he+erg.’ in singular and *ã* ‘they+erg.’ in the plural-

(52) θn kitab pəddi
 s/he+erg. book read-pst.fs
 ‘S/he read a book.’

(53) \tilde{a} kitab pəddi
 they+erg book read-pst.fp.
 ‘They read a book.’

In the oblique case , the gender is not distinguished. It is expressed in singular number of direct case only in proximity dimension.

The third person feminine is α ‘she’ in singular and ε ‘they’ in plural.

(54) a khele he
 she play-prst - aux.
 ‘She plays.’

(55) ε khele he
 they play-prst aux.
 ‘ They play.’

(56) θn kitab koni pəddi
 she+erg. book neg. read-pst.fs
 ‘She did not read a book.’

In the sentence (56) θn ‘she+erg’ clearly shows the presence of ergativity.

The third person pronouns may also be elaborated on remoteness dimension. The masculine and feminine genders are clear in singular forms in direct case. But gender is not distinguished in both numbers in oblique and plural case. It is clear from the examples (57), (57a-b), (58) and (59) :

(57) bo pədde he
 he read-prst aux.
 ‘He reads.’

- (57 a) bá pəddə hɛ
 she read-prst aux.

‘She reads’.

- (57 b) bɛ́ pəddə hɛ
 they(s/he) read-prst aux.

‘They (s/he) read.

In the oblique case gender is not distinguished and the ergative marker is fused with the subject :

- (58) bən kitab likhî
 s/he + erg. book-fs write-pst.fs

‘S/he wrote a book.’

- (59) bā kitab likhi
 they(m+f)+erg book.fs. write-pst.fp.

‘They wrote the book.’

The ergativity is shown by nasalization in *bā* ‘they+erg’ and by ergative marker *-/ŋ/* in *bən* ‘S/he’.

3.1.2.2 Reflexive pronouns :

Reflexive pronouns are of two types in Bagri- (i) agentive reflexive/non-possessive : *apɲɛ ap* ‘self’, and (ii) possessive reflexive: *apgo* ‘my/our/your/his/her/their own’.

The agentive reflexive can normally never occur in the subject position.

- (60)* apɲɛ ap bó pəddə hɛ
 refl. he read-prst. aux.

‘He reads himself.’

- (60a) bó apɲɛ ap pəddə hɛ
 he refl. read-prst. aux.

‘He reads himself.’

The agentive reflexive *apṇε ap* can be followed by a postposition.

- (61) bəṇ apṇε ap nε sisε mē dekhyo
 he+ erg refl. acc. mirror loc. see-pst.ms

‘He saw himself in the mirror.’

In sentence (61) the postposition *nε* is in accusative case. *bəṇ* ‘he +erg’ is the antecedent of *apṇε ap* ‘self’. *apṇε ap* is not inflected but only takes the postpositions to show reflexivity.

The possessive reflexive *apgo* is inflected according to the gender and number of the object of the verb in third person .

- (62) mē apgo kam kərū hū
 I own work do-prst aux.

‘I do my own work.’

In the sentence (62) *apgo* does not agree with gender and number of subject *mē* ‘I’.

Even in second and third person it does not agree with the subject *tū* ‘you’ and *bó/ bá* ‘he/she’.

- (63) tū apgo kam karε hε
 you own work do-prst aux.

‘ You do your own work.’

- (64) bó / bá apgo kam karε hε
 he / she own work do-prst aux.

‘ He /she does his/her own work.’

The possessive reflexive *apgo* agrees with the gender and number of the object of the verb

- (65) mē apgi kitab pəddū hū
 I own book read-prst. aux.

‘I read my own book’.

- (69) ram go bəsto
 Ram gen.ms bag.ms.
 ‘ Ram’s bag.’
- (70) ram gi kitab
 Ram gen.fs book.fs
 Ram’s book.
- (71) mewar ga raja
 Mewar gen.mp kings.mp
 ‘The kings of Mewar .’

As it is clear the genitive postposition in (69) , (70) and (71) agrees with the number and the gender of the noun. The oblique form *gε* can be used with both the numbers and genders in all the persons.

- (72) móən gε ghəre
 Mohan gen.obl. house.loc
 ‘...in Mohan’s house.’

- (72 a) bī gε ghəre
 he gen. obi house.loc
 ‘...in his house.’

3.1.2.5 Demonstrative Pronouns:

Demonstrative pronouns are indistinguishable from the third person pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns are divided in masculine and feminine genders in proximate and remote dimensions in singular number in third person . It is an interesting feature of Bagri :

(73)	Person	Gender	Number	
			Sg.	Pl.
	First	-----	mē	‘ I ‘ mhe ‘we’
	Second	-----	tũ	‘you’ the ‘you’
	Third (prox.)	masculine	ó	‘this/he’ é ‘these’

(prox.)	feminine	á	‘this/she’	é	‘these’
(rem.)	masculine	bó	‘that/he’	bé	‘those’
(rem.)	feminine	bá	‘that/she’	bé	‘those’

In direct singular of third person, there are two forms in the dialect /ó/ and /á/ for masculine and feminine, respectively both showing proximity. Likewise /bó/ and /bá/ shows remoteness in masculine and feminine respectively.

- (74)
- | | | | |
|-------------|---------|---------|----|
| ó / bó | choro | accho | hε |
| this / that | boy.ms. | nice.ms | is |
- ‘ This/That boy is nice.’
- (74a)
- | | | | |
|-----------|---------|---------|----|
| á/bá | chori | acchi | hε |
| this/that | girl.fs | nice.fs | is |
- ‘ This/That girl is nice.’
- (75)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|-------|-----------|------|
| é/bé | chora/choriã | kitab | pəddε | hε |
| these/ those | boys.mp/girls.fp. | book | read-prst | aux. |
- ‘ These/those boys/girls read the book.’

As is clear from the sentence (75) that in plural of third person the gender does not play a significant role.

3.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns and other question words:

The two main interrogative pronouns are: *kun* ‘who’ and *ke* ‘what’. The former is used for human referents and the latter for non-human referents, respectively. The paradigm of interrogative pronouns is :

<u>Cases</u>	<u>kUn 'who'</u>	
	Sg.	Pl.
Nominative	kUṇ	kUṇ
Ergative	kəṇ	kəṇ
Accusative / Dative	kī nẽ	kī nẽ
Instrumental / Ablative	kī syū	kī syū
Genitive	kī go	kī ga

<u>Cases</u>	<u>Ké 'what'</u>	
	Sg.	Pl.
Nominative	ké	ké
Ergative	kəṇ	kəṇ
Accusative/Dative	kī nẽ	kī nẽ
Instrumental/Ablative	kī syū	kī syū
Genitive	kī go	kī ga

Both the interrogative pronouns *kUṇ* and *ke* are same excepting in a nominative case. It is also remarkable that there is same shape in singular and plural numbers. Because of this reason they are used in the same way excepting the nominative form. All question words begin with sound /k/ are generally termed k-questions in Bagri. Question words do not induce any word order changes in the statement undergoing question formation. However, intonation pattern changes. Interrogative sentences with question words are formed by substituting a question word in place of the questioned constituent in the statement. The main question words are *ke* 'what', *kUṇ* 'who', *kisyo* 'which', *kəṭṭhə* 'where', *kyukər* 'how', *kyū* 'why' etc. The question word in a sentence is always stressed.

(76)	tharo	nam	ram	hε
	your	name	Ram	is

‘Your name is Ram.’

If we substitute a question word *ké* in place of constituent *ram* it would be an interrogative sentence.

(76a.)	tharo	nam	ké	hε ?
	your	name	what	is ?

‘What is your name?’

If *tharo* ‘your’ is substituted by question word *kĩgo* ‘whose’

(76b.)	kĩgo	nam	ram	hε ?
	whose	name	Ram	is ?

‘Whose name is Ram?’

Like this an interrogative sentence is formed by using different question words in a sentence. Question words act as members of a four-term set along with relative, remote /*bé*/ and proximate /*é*/ pronouns. These question words in Bagri include adverbs, quantifiers and interrogative adjectives. Their list together with relative and demonstrative forms is:

<u>Q- word</u>	<u>Proximate</u>	<u>Remote</u>	<u>Relative</u>
kəṭṭhε	əṭṭhε	bəṭṭhε	jəṭṭhε
‘where?’	‘here’	‘there’	‘where’
kinē	inē	binē	jinē
‘whither?’	‘hither’	‘thither’	‘whither’
kiyā	iyā	biyā	jiyā
‘how?’	‘this manner’	‘that manner’	‘which manner’
kitto	itto	bitto	jitto
‘how much?’	‘this much’	‘that much’	‘as much’
kisyo	--	--	jiko
‘which one?’			‘which one’
kəd	əb	jəd	jəd
‘when?’	‘now’	‘then’	‘when’

3.1.2.7. Relative pronouns :

An elaborate set of relative pronouns exists in Bagri. The list of relative pronouns in this dialect is :

(77)	<u>Cases</u>	<u>jiko 'who / what'</u>			
		Sg.		Pl.	
	Direct	jiko	'who / what'	jika	'who / what'
	oblique	jī / jikε	'who / what'	jī / jikā	'who / what'

From the above paradigm it is clear that there is overt difference in the shape of relative pronoun in both the numbers.

The direct possessive relative pronoun, like other genitive pronominal forms, has three forms : *jiko* (ms.), *jika* (mp.), *jiki* (fs/p). Its oblique counterparts are *jikε* (ms), *jikā* (mp.), and *jiki* (fs/p).

3.1.2.8. Emphatic pronouns:

Emphatic pronouns are somewhat similar to Reflexive pronouns because in both of them the compound personal pronouns are used, in the former, for the sake of emphasis and in the latter for the sake of reflexion of the action undertaken by the subject of the verb.

Emphatic pronouns in Bagri have the same morphological form as the bound pronouns which occur in reduplicated form in the sentence. In Hindi and major Indo-Aryan languages the emphatic and reflexives are homophonous: as Hindi *apne ap*, Punjabi *apne ap*. In Bagri, an emphatic pronoun serves only to modify, emphasize, or highlight a subject or an object NP which may or may not be overtly expressed. In

(78) mē ap̄ɛ ap nē ghayəl kəryo
I myself acc. injured do-pst.1ms
 ‘I injured myself.’

Emphatic pronouns, like reflexives, agree with verb of the sentence in number, gender, and person:

(79) a. mē apṇε ap kagət likhyo
I emph. letter write-pst. 1 ms
'I wrote the letter by myself.'

b. mē apṇε ap nē sisε mē dekhyo
I refl. acc. mirror in see-pst. 1 ms
'I saw myself in the mirror.'

Here in sentence (79a), emphatic pronoun *ap̄n̄ε ap* highlights the subject *m̄ε̃* (I) and makes the sentence emphatic, whereas in sentence (79b) the bound anaphor *ap̄n̄ε ap̄n̄ε* (myself) is used as an object and reflects the action of ‘seeing’ undertaken by the subject *m̄ε̃* (I).

Emphatic pronouns can highlight the subject or object NP. In this process the emphatic pronoun is placed just after the NP that is to be highlighted or emphasized.

(80) a. mē apṇε ap raja nē dekhyo
 I emph. king acc. see-pst.ms
 ‘ I saw the king myself.’

- b. mē raja apṇe ap nē dekhyo
 I king emph. acc. see-pst.ms
 ‘ I saw the king myself.’

Here in sentence (80a.), the emphatic pronoun *apṇe ap* is placed just after the subject *mē* (I) to emphasize the subject . Thus the emphatic pronoun *apṇe ap* highlights the subject of the verb. In sentence (80b), the emphatic marker *apṇe ap* is placed just after the object *raja* (king) to highlight the same. So here object is emphasized.

Emphatic pronoun in nominative case takes no case-marker, however they take case-marker *nē* when used in accusative case.

- (81 a) mē apṇe ap kitab pəddū hū
 I emph. book read-prst.ms aux.
 ‘I read the book myself.’

In sentence (81a), the emphatic pronoun takes no case marker, but in sentence (81b).

- (81 b). mē raja apṇe ap nē dekhū hū
 I king emph. acc see-prst.ms aux.
 ‘ I see the king himself.’

The emphatic pronoun *apṇe ap* takes the accusative case marker *nē*. It means, the emphatic pronoun takes no case marker when the same is placed just after the subject, on the other hand, the emphatic marker when it is placed after an object NP.

There is a major difference between the emphatic pronouns and reflexives in Bagri as the reflexive pronoun *apṇe ap* takes the case marker *nē* when the reflexive is co-indexed with the subject (81 c), but this is not the case with emphatic pronouns (81d):

(81 c) mē apṇε ap nē sisε mē dekhyo
 I refl. acc. mirror in see-pst.ms

‘I saw my self in the mirror.’

(81 d) mē apṇε ap sisε mē dekhyo
 I emph. mirror in see-pst.ms

‘I saw in the mirror by myself.’

3.1.3 Verb Morphology

3.1.3.1 Voice:

The passive voice in Bagri is formed in two ways- (i) the subject of the active sentence is followed by the instrumental postposition *syū* ; (ii) the participial form of the main verb is used with the explicator verb *ja* ‘go’ ; and in some cases by adding the suffix *-ij* to the stem instead of the past participial form e.g., *deij gyo* passive of ‘give’. The explicator endings denoting tense-aspect agreement.

(82) bī syū kaḡet koni likhyo gəyo
 he inst.pp letter.ms neg. write-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms
 ‘The letter was not written by him.’

(83) gita syū koni soyo gəyo
 Gita.fs inst.ppl neg. sleep-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms
 ‘Gita could not sleep.’

Sentence (82) and (83) indicate that both transitive and intransitive verbs can be passivised in Bagri. Passive sentences are ambiguous. Transitive passives express passive as well as capability (external not internal) reading as in (82). Intransitive passives convey only the capability reading and generally occur in the construction. Transitive agents can be dropped and the agentless construction thus obtained favours the passive reading over the capability reading as in (82a)-

- (82 a) kagəṭ koni likhyo gəyo
 letter.ms.neg. write-pst.ppl.ms go-pst.ms
 'The letter was not written.'

The main verb in passive verb in Bagri does not agree with any constituent (here *bĩ* 'he' in sentence (82)) with a postposition. Therefore, the explicator element (the second verbal element *jaṇo* 'to go') of the passive verb agrees with the object, i.e. *kagəṭ* in (82) and (82a) and receives the past tense conjugation. The main verb on the other hand agrees with the object in terms of number and gender. In the case of intransitive passive the verb takes the masculine singular form which is default agreement.

The second type of passive is formed by adding the suffix *-ij* to the stem of the verb, and the explicator element *jaṇo* 'to go' is used according to the tense of the verb.

- (84) bĩ syũ kagəṭ koni likhijε he
 he inst-pp letter neg write-prst.ppl.ms is
 'A letter is not written by him.'

In sentence (84), *likhij* is followed by the present tense marker *-ε*, (irrespective of gender, number, and person) and thus *likhijε* is in present tense. Likewise the past tense is also made by suffixing past tense marker *-yo/-i /-ya* to the stem of the verb *likhij* for masculine, feminine, and plurals, respectively according to the number, person, and gender of the object. As in sentences (84a) and (84b)-

- (84 a) bĩ syũ kagəṭ koni likhijyo he
 he inst.pp letter.ms.neg write-pst.ppl.ms is
 'A letter has not been written by him.'

Whereas, in sentences (84c-d) the stems of the verb *likhij* and *pəddij* are followed by the future tense marker *-ego/-egi/-ega* for masculine, feminine, and plurals respectively.

(84b) bī' syū kitab koni pəddiji
 he inst.pp books.fs neg. read-pst.ppl.fs

‘A book was not read by him.’

(84c) bī' syū kagət koni likhijego
 he inst.pp letter.ms neg. write-fut.ms

‘A letter will not be written by him.’

(84d) bī' syū kitab koni pəddijegi
 he inst.pp book.fs neg. read-fut.fs

‘A book will not be read by him.’

3.1.2.2 Tense:

There are three tenses in Bagri : Present, Past, and Future. Inflected forms of /hε/

‘be’ in optative express present tense and inflected forms of /ho/ express past tense.

These are used as auxiliaries with other verbs to denote present and past tense, respectively.

(A) Present tense:

In the present simple tense the auxiliary /hε/ is used and it is not inflected (excluding in first person singular) according to the number, person and gender.

(85) ó choro hε
 this boy.ms. aux.

‘ This is a boy.’

(85a) á chori hε
 this girl.fs aux.

‘This is a girl.’

- (86) bḛ kitab paḍḍḛ hḛ
 they book.fs read aux.

‘ They read a book.’

In Bagri, in the present continuous tense, the use of *lag* (stick), a continuous marker, is a peculiar feature among the other Rajasthani dialects. It is inflected according to the number, gender, and person. The omission/deletion of *lag* changes an acceptable sentence to an unacceptable one.

- (87) mḛ pəḍḍən lag ryo hū
 I read-inf.obl stick remain aux.

‘I am studying’ (lit. I am stick to studying.)

- (87a) tū / bó khelən lag ryo hḛ
 you / he play-inf.obl stick remain aux.

‘You are / he is playing.’

- (87b) bḛ likhən lag rya hḛ
 they write-inf.obl stick remain aux.

‘ They are writing.’

If the *lag* is deleted the sentence will be unacceptable in the dialect because of its ungrammaticality. Examples (87), (87a) and (87b) are rewritten as (88), (88a) and (88b) respectively after deleting the *lag*.

- (88)* mḛ pəḍḍən ryo hū

- (88a)* tū / bó khelən ryo hḛ

- (88b) * bḛ likhən rya hḛ

It is clear from the above example that the particle *lag* is an obligatory particle. It also changes the verb from *pəḍḍ* (infinitive) to *pəḍḍən* (infinitive-obl.), as in example (87), (87a) and (87b).

(B) Past tense:

The indicative past form is homophonous with the past particle of the verb. The past participle is formed by adding the following perfective aspectual suffixes, inflected for number and gender to the verb stem.

(89)		Singular	Plural
	Masculine	-yo	-ya
	Feminine	-yi	-yi

The past tense is illustrated in the examples (90-92)

(90)	mẽ	ghər	gəyo
	I	home	go-pst.ppl.ms
	'I went home.'		

(90a)	* mẽ	ghər	gəyo	(hoyo)
	I	home	go-pst.ppl.ms	be-pst.ppl.ms
	'I went home.'			

(91)	mhe	ghər	gəyi
	we	home	go-pst.fp.
	'We went home.'		

(92)	bã	kam	kəryo
	they-obl.erg.pp	work	do-pst.ms
	'They did the work.'		

The optional form of the verb 'to be' does not occur in the simple past tense as it is shown by the ungrammaticality of (90a).

In the past continuous tense, like present continuous one, the particle *lag* (stick) is used obligatorily. Besides, the verb stem changes from infinitive to infinitive oblique, as in (93) and (94):

(93)	mẽ / bó	pəddən	lag	ryo	ho
	I / he	read-inf.obl	stick	cont.	was (aux.)
	'I / He were/was reading.'				

- (94) bɛ pəɖɖən lag rya ha
 they read-inf.obl stick cont. aux. (were)
 ‘They were reading.’

If the *lag* is omitted, the sentence would become ungrammatical.

- (93a) * mɛ́/bó pəɖɖən ø ryo ho
 (94a) * bɛ pəɖɖən ø rya ha

The ungrammaticality of sentences (93a) and (94a) shows that *lag* is an essential component of the continuous tense. The progressive marker *ryo* is inflected according to the number, gender and person.

(C) Future tense:

The future indicative tense does not require any auxilliary verb form to express the person of the subject. Agreement of verb with the subject is by person, number and gender. The following person-number-gender suffixes with a verb stem, form the future tense in Bagri.

Pronouns	Singular		Plural	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1st person	-ũga	-ũgi	-ãga	-ãga
2nd person	-ɛgo	-ɛgi	-oga	-ogi
3rd person	-ɛgo	-ɛgi	-ɛga	-ɛgi

The illustrations of future tense are in (95) and (96)-

- (95) mɛ səwal puchũnga
 I question ask-1-fut.ms
 ‘ I will ask a question.’
 (96) bá kam karɛgi
 she work do-3-fut.fs
 ‘She will do the work.’

3.1.2.3 Aspect:

Aspect is a grammatical category which relates to the internal temporal structure of a situation. Aspects are marked by the phasal structure of the verbs. These show the meaning distinctions like non-completive vs. completive, progressive vs. habitual. It may also be added that when there is indicative mood there is aspect. All others are non-indicative.

There is a separate perfect aspect, i.e., distinct forms for indicating a past situation (event, process, state, act) that has the present relevance. It is formed by the addition of the auxilliary verb *hoṇo* 'to be' to the past participle of the verb.

The perfect aspect occurs in three tenses- pluperfect, present perfect and future perfect marked by past, present and future copular forms, as in (97-99) respectively.

- (97) chori skul gəyi hɛ
 girl school pst.fs is (aux.)
 'The girl has gone to the school.'

- (98) mhe dilli gəya ha
 we Delhi go-pst.mp. was (aux.)
 'We had gone to Delhi.'

- (99) gaḍi aṇ t̃i pulis cor ñ pəkrero howɛgi
 train arrival till police thief acc/dat. catch-pst.ms be-fut.3fs
 'The police will have caught the thief by the time the train arrives.'

The present perfect aspect can be used to indicate a number of situations such as-

- (a) A situation completed a short time ago -

- (100) bó əbi ayo hɛ
 he now-right come-pst.ms is(aux.)
 ' He has arrived a short time ago.'

- (b) A situation that has held at least once in the period leading upto the present.

(101) the kədi dilli gəya ho?
 you ever Delhi go-pst-mp are (aux.)

‘Have you ever been to Delhi?’

(c) A situation that began in the past and is still continuing

(102) mē do ghəntā hū khəryo hū
 I two hours from stand-pst.ms am (aux.)

‘I have been waiting for past two hours.’

(d) Present result of the past situation :

(103) bhot ménət pher mero kam bəryo hē
 very hard work after my work become-pst.ms is(aux.)

‘After very much hard work, I have succeeded.’

(e) A situation that will be shortly be completed

(104) īyā sēməjo kə tharo kam əb hoyo hē
 this way consider-imp that your work right be-pst.ms is (aux.)

‘Consider your work done right away.’

3.1.2.4 Mood:

Mood is a grammatical category which expresses the degree or kind of reality of a proposition, as perceived by the speaker.

In Bagri, there are four moods marked by inflection of verbal forms. Bagri has no separate inflectional category of the mood. It is fused with person and number.

Following are the moods found in this dialect-

(a) Indicative:

(105) mē jaū hū
 I go am

‘I go.’

(106) mē hū
 I am.

‘I am.’

(b) Obligative:

- (107) bInnẽ roṭi khaṇi he
 he+dat. bread eat-prst.fs is
 ‘He has to eat the bread.’

(c) Imperative :

- (108) já
 go (2nd p.sg. ordinary)
(108 a) jao
 go (2nd .sg.polite)
(108 b) binnẽ jaṇ dyo
 he+dat go give-imp
 ‘Let him go.’

(109) Optative :

It is marked by inflection . In this person, and number suffixes are fused together with the mood.

- (109) mẽ kutũ
 I beat
 ‘ I may beat.’
(119a) bõ jawε
 he go
 ‘ He may go.’

3.1.3.5 Finite and non-finite forms:

Bagri makes a clear distinction between finite and non-finite forms. Finite forms can be used independently in matrix and subordinate clauses. The only non-finite verbal forms are the derived nominals and participles.

The non-finite verbal forms are not sensitive to tense, voice, aspect, and mood. Only the past and present participial forms maintain their aspectual reference. The formation of non-finite verbal forms is as follows-

(a) Infinitives:

The infinitive forms of the verb are derived by adding the following suffixes to the stem:

Simple infinitive	Oblique infinitive
stem + <i>no</i>	stem + <i>ən/(ə)ṇ</i>

The suffix */-no/* is used with all the stems irrespective of their endings. The only exception in Bagri, where the suffix */-no/* is not used is, the stem that ends in */-ṇ/* there the suffix */-no/* is used. It is exemplified by the last entry of example (110). Considering the following examples it becomes clear that infinitives may be used as nouns and imperatives. In the oblique case the suffix-final */-o/* is dropped (example 111) with verbal stems ending in a consonant the vowel */-ə/* intervenes between the stem and the oblique infinitive marker.

(110)	Stem		Infinitive		Stem		Infinitive
	dekh	‘see’	dekh-ṇo		kər	‘do’	kər-ṇo
	kha	‘eat’	kha-ṇo		pəḍ	‘read’	pəḍ-ṇo
	hās	‘laugh’	hās-ṇo		suṇ	‘hear’	suṇ-no

(111)	Stem	Oblique	infinitive	Stem	Oblique	infinitive
	pi	‘drink’	piṇ	kər	‘do’	kərəṇ
	kha	‘eat’	khaṇ	dekh	‘see’	dekhəṇ
	ja	‘go’	jaṇ	pəḍ	‘read’	pəḍəṇ

- (b) Participles:
 (i) Present / Imperfective participle-

The present participial marker is /-t-/ which immediately follows the verbal stem and is, in turn, followed by number and gender marker, as shown in example (112)-

(112) Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
stem-(n)t-o	stem-(n)t-a	stem-(n)t-i	stem-(n)t-i

With stems ending in a vowel, /-n/ intervenes the stem and the present participial marker /-t-/.

The present participle may be used as either adjective or adverb. The optional past participial form of the verb *hoŋo* 'to be' may immediately follow the present participial form, as in (113)-

(113)	pəḍəto / janto	(hoyo)	choro
	read-prst.ppl.ms / go-prst.ppl.ms	be-pst.ppl.ms	boy.ms.
	pəḍəta / janta	(hoya)	chora
	read-prst.ppl.mp / go-prst.ppl.mp	be-pst.ppl.mp	boy.mp
	pəḍəti / janti	(hoyi)	chori
	read-prst.ppl.fsp / go-prst.ppl.fsp	be-pst.ppl.fsp	girl.fsp
	'The boy(s)/girl(s) who is/are reading/going.'		

The present participial form and the optional 'to be' form agree in number and gender of the following head noun. The retention of the optional form may or may not agree with their subject.

- (ii) Past/Perfective participle :

The participial form is derived by adding the following suffixes, inflected for number and gender, to the verbal stem. Like the present participle, the optional past

participial form of the verb *hono* 'to be' may immediately follow the past participial form.

(114)	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
	stem -yo	stem-ya	stem-yi	stem-yi

The optional part participial forms of the verb ' to be' are as -

(115)	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
	hoyo	hoya	hoyi	hoyi

The past participle may be used either as an adjective or as an adverb. The examples follow-

(116)	pəḍ-ero	(hoyo)	choro
	read-pst.ppl.ms	be-pst.ppl.ms	boy.ms.
	pəḍ-era	(hoya)	chora
	read-pst.ppl.mp	be-pst.ppl.ms	boy.mp
	pəḍ-eri	(hoyi)	chori
	read-pst.ppl.fs	be-pst.ppl.fs	girl.fs
	pəḍ-eri	(hoyi)	chori/ã
	read-pst.ppl.fp	be-pst.ppl.fp	girl.fp

' The boy(s)/girl(s) who is/are read'.

The past participial form and the optional 'to be' form agree in number and gender of the following head noun. The retention of the optional form makes the participial phrase emphatic in nature.

3.1.4 Adjectives:

3.1.4.1 Formation of adjectives:

The most common function of an adjective is to modify nouns . From the view point of this agreement with the following noun, adjectives in Bagri can be grouped into two classes : (i) ending in /-o/ ,and (ii) not ending in /-o/ ,called invariable adjectives .

Adjectives such as *accho* ‘good’ inflect with the number and the gender of the following noun, whereas adjectives such as *lal* ‘red’, *raji* ‘happy’ do not agree with their noun.

The case of the noun also influences the shape of adjectives ending in /-o/, as shown below in (117)-

(117) Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	<i>accho</i> ‘good’	<i>accha</i>	<i>acchi</i>	<i>acchi</i>
Oblique	<i>acche</i>	<i>accha</i>	<i>acchi</i>	<i>acchi</i>

Comparing (118) with (118a)-

(118)	<i>súno</i> handsome	<i>choro / admi</i> boy / man
	‘ A handsome boy/man.’	

(118a)	<i>súnε</i> handsome	<i>chorε/admi</i> boy.obl.ms / man.obl.ms	<i>mε</i> in
	‘ ... in a handsome boy/man...’		

*(118b)	<i>súno</i> handsome	<i>chorε/admi</i> boy.obl.ms/man.obl.ms	<i>mε</i> in
	‘ ...in a handsome boy/man...’		

No other factors such as deletion of a noun or the position of a noun influence the agreement of the adjectives with nouns. The ordinals, participles (both present and

past) and genitive pronouns, the particle */-aʎo/*, which end in */-o/*, behave like adjectives ending in */-o/*, i.e., they are subject to agreement with their following head nouns.

- (119a) bó dilli aʎo choro hɛ
 he Delhi of boy.ms. is
 ‘That boy is from Delhi.’

- (119b) bá dilli aʎi chori hɛ
 she Delhi of girl.fs is
 ‘That girl is from Delhi.’

In Bagri, adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively. Examples are given below:

Attributive

- (120a) lal jhoʎo mero hɛ
 red bag my is
 ‘The red bag is mine.’
- (121a) moʎən aʎsi choro hɛ
 mohan lazy boy is
 ‘Mohan is a lazy boy.’

Predicative

- (120b) mero jhoʎo lal hɛ
 my bag red is
 ‘My bag is red.’
- (121b) bó choro aʎsi hɛ
 that boy lazy is
 ‘That boy is lazy.’

3.1.4.2 Adjectives of comparison:

There are not much morphological formations for adjectives of comparison in Bagri.

In general, comparative and superlative adjectives are expressed by syntactic devices.

The comparative construction is formed by using the noun or pronoun which is compared as the subject of the sentence and by suffixing the instrumental-ablative postposition *syũ* to the noun or pronoun with which the comparison is made. The normal order is for the standard of comparison to precede the comparative; in other words, the adjective follows the noun or pronoun to which the postposition is suffixed, but may be inverted for stylistic purposes:

- (122a) gita mira syũ moṭi hɛ
 Gita Mira from old be-prst.3fs
 ‘Gita is older than Mira.’

- (122b) kako bhiye -syũ risaḷu hɛ
 uncle brother from angry be-prst.ms
 ‘The uncle is more hot-tempered than the brother.’

To express the degree of comparison in specific terms, such gradable forms as *jada* ‘more,’ *bólo* ‘a lot more’ and *kəm* ‘less’ are used before the adjective in such constructions. The following examples illustrate this:

- (123a) gita mira syũ jada súni hɛ
 Gita Mira from more beautiful be-prst.fs
 ‘Gita is more beautiful than Mira.’

- (123b) kako bhiye syũ jada risaḷu hɛ
 uncle brother from more angry be-prst.ms
 ‘The uncle is more hot-tempered than the brother.’

In superlative constructions, the standard against which the made is *sé/sara/səgla* ‘all’, to which the postposition *syũ* ‘from’ is suffixed, e.g.,

- (124) rajes sé/sara/səgla syũ kabil hɛ
 rajesh all from competent be-prst.ms
 ‘Rajesh is the most competent of all.’

3.1.5 Postpositions

Postpositions constitute a small class of words which occur after inflected forms of a nominal and are always bound. Majority of postpositions are invariable. The typical postpositions in Bagri are: *-ε* 'oblique form,' *nē* 'to', *syū* 'from', *mē* 'in', *upər* 'on', *binā* 'without', *təi* 'upto', *khatər*, 'for'

- (125) *chorε* o kam kəryo
 boy.obl.ms this work do-pst.ms
 'The boy did this work.'

In the sentence (125), the postposition *-ε* is attached with *chorε* 'boy' and makes it oblique form of *choro*. 'This oblique form of the stem *choro* here is identical with the ergative inflection (Allen,1984:3)

- (126) ram bīnε kuṭyo
 Ram he+ acc. beat-pst.ms
 'Ram beat him.'

In the sentence (126), the accusative case marker *nε* 'to' is attached with *bī* 'he,' and verb *kuṭyo* agrees with it.

In the instrumental case, the postposition *syū* 'with' is used, as in (127)-

- (127) *mē* chorε nē ləkəṛi syū kuṭyo
 I boy.obl.ms acc. stick with beat-pst.ms
 'I beat the boy with the stick.'

The genitive postposition *go* is inflected, like an adjective, for gender, number and case and shows agreement with the noun before which it occurs i.e., possessed N. It expresses genitive relationship while other postpositions express various case relations.

In the examples (128), (128a), and (128b) *go* is inflected according to the noun before which it occurs-

- (128) ram go bhai awɛ hɛ
 Ram gen.ms brother.ms come-prst aux.
 'Ram's brother comes.'
- (128a) ram gi bhɛŋ awɛ hɛ
 Ram gen.fs sister.fs come-prst aux.
 'Ram's sister comes.'
- (128b) ram ga bhai awɛ hɛ
 Ram gen.mp brother.mp come-prst aux.
 'Ram's brother come.'

A small group of other postpositions ending in /-o/ such as *bərgo* 'like' also follow the pattern of the genitive postposition; as in (129), (129a), and (129b)-

- (129) ser bərgo admi
 lion like.ms man.ms
 ' A man like a lion. (i.e. brave man)
- (129a) ga bərgi lugai
 cow like.fs woman.fs
 ' A woman like a cow.' (i.e. innocent women)
- (129b) rakəs bərga admi
 monsters like.mp man.mp
 ' Men like the monsters.'

3.1.6 Numerals

Numerals are also adjectives which indicate number. The numerals in Bagri are: (i) cardinals, (ii) ordinals, (iii) fractions, (iv) multiplicatives, and (v) aggregatives. All these are used as quantifiers, i.e., they give the number of objects.

3.1.6.1 Cardinals:

The cardinal numerals answer the question *kita* 'how many?'. Cardinals may be divided into the following: (a) base numerals, (b) intermediate numerals, (c) decade numerals, and (d) compound numerals.

(a) Base numerals:

ek	1	chɛ	6
do	2	sat	7
tin	3	aṭh	8
cyar	4	no	9
pāc	5		

Cardinals upto 10 are inflected in Bagri according to the number, person, and gender.

Inflection of cardinals

Number	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1	ekko	ekka	ikki	ikki/ā
2	duo	dua	duggi	duggi/ā
3	tio	tia	tiggi	tiggi/ā
4	cokko	cokka	coggi	coggi/ā
5	pānjyo	pānjya	pənji	pənji/ā
6	chəkko	chikka	cikki	cikki/ā
7	sato	satta	sətti	sətti/ā
8	aṭṭho	aṭṭha	əṭṭhi	aṭṭhi/ā
9	nokko	nokka	nokki	nokki/ā
10	dəssso	dəssa	dəssi	dəssi/ā

- (130) bən duɛ pər tio likh diyo
 he-erg. 2 on 3 write do-pst.ms
 'He wrote the number 3 on 2.'

- (131) laṭri mē aj do pānjya aya he
lottery is today two five.mp come-pst.mp. aux.

‘Two fives have been declared in lottery today.’

- (132) bəṇ blekbord pər ek tio ər do nokki likhi
he-erg. blackboard on one three.ms and two nine.fp write-pst.fp

‘He wrote one 3 and two 9’s on the blackboard.’

- (b) Intermediate numerals:

gyara	11	pəndra	15
bara	12	soḷa	16
tera	13	sətəra	17
cowda	14	əṭṭhara	18

- (c) Decade numerals:

dəs	10	sath	60
bis	20	səttər	70
tis	30	əssi	80
caḷis	40	nəbbə	90
pəcas	50		

- (d) Compound numerals :

gunnis	19	chiyālis	46	tettər	73
ikkis	21	səttalis	47	cottər	74
bais	22	əṭṭalis	48	piccettər	75
teis	23	guṇcas	49	chīnttər	76
cois	24	ikkawən	51	səttənttər	77
pəccis	25	bawən	52	əṭṭhənttər	78
chəbbis	26	təreppən	53	ikkyasi	81
səttais	27	coppən	54	biyāsi	82
əṭṭhais	28	picppən	55	tiyāsi	83

guntis	29	chəppən	56	corasi	84
ikəttis	31	səttawən	57	piccyasi	85
bəttis	32	ətt̪hawən	58	chiyāsi	86
təttis	33	gun̪sətt̪	59	sittyasi	87
cōttis	34	ikk̪sətt̪	61	it̪thyasi	88
pəttis	35	basətt̪	62	newasi	89
chəttis	36	təresətt̪	63	ikkaṇmē	91
sēttis	37	cōsətt̪	64	baṇmē	92
ərt̪tis	38	pēsətt̪	65	təreṇmē	93
gun̪calis	39	chyasətt̪	66	corāṇmē	94
ikt̪lis	41	sərsətt̪	67	piccyāṇmē	95
biālis	42	ərsətt̪	68	chyāṇmē	96
tiālis	43	gun̪ett̪ər	69	sittyāṇmē	97
cəmmaḷis	44	ikkett̪ər	71	it̪thyaṇmē	98
pētt̪alis	45	bhett̪ər	72	ninnyaṇmē	99

It is worth noting that *gun̪-* is prefixed to all the numerals which designate decades less one, except ‘89’ and ‘99’ which conform to the pattern of other numerals between decades, e.g.,

gun̪is	19	gun̪sətt̪	59
gun̪tis	29	gun̪ett̪ər	69
gun̪calis	39	gun̪yasi	79
gun̪cas	49		

but,

newasi	89	ninanmē	99
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3.1.6.1.1 Hundreds-

The numeral ‘100’ is *so* and it is preceded by *ek* ‘one’ when counting ; otherwise it may be used alone when a noun follows, e.g.,

(133) ek so
 ‘one hundred’
 but,

(133a) bəŋ mənne so ripia diya
 he-erg I.acc.dat hundred rupees give-pst.mp.
 ‘He gave me one hundred rupees.’

Hundreds are formed by placing so after a cardinal number, e.g.,

ek	so	100
do	so	200
tin	so	300
bara	so	1200
chiyālis	so	4600

3.1.6.1.2 Thousands:

The numeral ‘1,000’ is *həjar*. Thousands are formed by placing *həjar* after a cardinal number, e.g.,

ek	həjar	1,000
do	həjar	2,000
tin	həjar	3,000
bis	həjar	20,000
bəttis	həjar	32,000, and so on.

3.1.6.1.3: Numerals above a ‘hundred’ and a ‘thousand’-

Numerals above a hundred and a thousand are made synthetically by subjoining the lower numeral to the higher without any intervening conventions , as,

ek	so	100	ek	həjar	1,000
ek	so	ek	101	ek	həjar ek 1,001
ek	so	gyara	111	sat	həjar gyara 7,011
sat	so	chiyālis	746	tera	həjar baṇmē 13,092, and so on.

The numeral 100,000 is *lakh*, and the numeral 10,000,000 is *kəroṛ*. Multiples of these numbers are also made like those of a hundred and a thousand as shown above, e.g.,

ek	lakh	do	həjar	aṭh	sotera	103,813
chē	lakh	gunis	həjar	no	so	bara 619,912, and so on.

3.1.6.2 Ordinals:

The ordinals numerals answers the question: *kisyo* ‘which one?’. Ordinals are adjectives which are formed by suffixation of *-wō* (m.) / *-wī* (f.) to a cardinal form—except in case of ordinals of *ek* ‘one,’ *do* ‘two,’ *tin* ‘three’, and *cyar* ‘four.’ The ordinals of these cardinals are:

pēlo	1st
dusro	2nd
tisro	3rd
cottho	4th

Examples of other ordinals are:

pāncwō	(m.s.)	5th	pāncwī	(f.s.)
chəṭṭwo	(m.s.)	6th	chəṭṭwī	(f.s.)
dəsuwō	(m.s.)	10th	dəswī	(f.s.)
do so barwō		212th (m.s.)	do so barwī	(f.s.)

Definite adjectives, which also change for gender, may be made by the suffixation of /-ro/ (masculine) and /-ri/ (feminine) to the ordinals-

Masculine	Feminine
pélo-ro 'the first one'	pélo-ri
dusro-ro 'the second one'	dusro-ri
tisro-ro 'the third one'	tisro-ri
nəwō-ro 'the ninth one'	nəwō-ri, and so on

The definite adjectives are translated as NPs; however, they can modify a noun, as is shown below:

- (134) pélo-ro choro bəro cəlak jə
first-def.ms boy -very clever be-prst.3ms
'The first boy is very clever,'
- (135) tisro-ri lugai nē bəlao
third-def.fs woman acc./ dat. call.imp.
'Call the third woman.'

3.1.6.3 Fraction:

The fractions in Bagri are :

paiyo	$\frac{1}{4}$
adh/adho/ədho	$\frac{1}{2}$
pun/tin pa	$\frac{3}{4}$
səwa	$1\frac{1}{4}$
dəd	$1\frac{1}{2}$
dhai	$2\frac{1}{2}$
sadde	plus $\frac{1}{2}$ (used with numerals '3' and above.)

Not all of the fractions listed above behave as adjectives. For instance, a few of them may combine with the genitival forms of the NPs, in which case they are more like nouns than adjectives, as exemplified below:

- (136) ĩ go adho dei
 this-gen.ms half give-imp

‘Give (me) half of it.’

- (137) pəccas.ga khulla dei
 fifty-gen.mp change give-imp

‘Give (me) change of fifty (rupees)’

Most of the fractions, however, can occur as adjectives:

- (138) adho kilo khāṇḍ dei
 half kilo sugar give-imp

‘Give (me) half kilo of sugar.’

- (139) dhai kilo cawəḷ toli
 2¹/₂ kilo rice weigh-imp

‘Weigh (for me) 2¹/₂ kilo of rice.’

3.1.6.4 Multiplicatives:

Multiplicatives are formed by suffixed *-guno* (ms.)/ *-guni* (f.sp.)/ *guna* (m.p) ‘times’ to the cardinal numerals, e.g.,

Sg.	Masculine	Pl.	Feminine	Pl.
			Sg	
duguno / duṇo		duguna / duna ‘twice’	duguni / duṇi	duguni / duṇi
tinguno		tinguna ‘thrice’	tinguni	tinguni
cyarguno		cyarguna ‘fourtimes’	cyarguni	cyarguni
noguno		noguna ‘nine times’	noguni	noguni

It is worth noting that the multiplicative suffix may also be added to a few of the fractional numerals, e.g.,

- (140) səwa guno ‘1¼ times’
 adho guno ‘½ times’
 ḍeḍ guno ‘1½ times’
 dhai guno ‘2½ times’

but not,

*	paiyo guṇo	‘¼ times’
*	sade guṇo	‘plus ½ times’

3.1.6.5 Aggregatives:

All aggregative forms of cardinal numerals in Bagri end on /-ũ/

donũ	‘both’	chẽũ	‘all six’
tinũ	‘all three’	satũ	‘all seven’
cyarũ	‘all four’	aṭhũ	‘all eight’
pāncũ	‘all five’	noũ	‘all nine’
pēcāsũ	‘all fifty’	dəsũ	‘all ten’
soũ	‘all hundred’		

A few examples are given below for illustration:

- (141) donũ admi jao
 both man go-imp
 ‘Go, both of you.’

- (142) pāncũ bhẽnsyā gəm gi
 all five buffalo.fp lose go-pst.fp
 ‘All the five buffaloes were lost.’

3.1.6.6 Quantifiers:

In Bagri, the following quantifiers occur: *kĩ* ‘some’, *kəi* ‘many’, *thoro* ‘a little’, *bhot* ‘a lot’, *hər* ‘each/every’, *saro/səglo* ‘all / whole.’ Aggregative quantifiers are derived by the addition of /-ũ/ to the cardinal numerals (see 3.1.6.5). A number of quantifiers are compounded in the following manner:

(d)Reduplicating quantifiers with intervening *nə* ‘neg’:

Only two quantifiers- *koi* ‘some (person)’ and *kī* ‘some thing’ can participate in this construction, e.g.,

(147a) *koi nə koi* ‘someone or the other, *kī nə kī* ‘something or other’.

(e)Reduplicated quantifiers with intervening oblique / plural genitive postposition *ga*:

(147b) *so* ‘hundred’ *ga so* ‘all the hundred’

3.1.7 Adverbs

In Bagri, diagnostic position for the adverb is before the verb as in (148) and (149) -

(148) *ó* *budiyo* *tawəlo* *mər* *jawəgo*
 this oldman.ms soon die-prst.ms go-fut.3ms.
 ‘This oldman will die soon.’

(149) *tū’* *itto* *kam* *kyāmi* *kəre* *he*
 you so much work why do-prst is
 ‘Why do you do this much work?’

In these sentences *tawəlo* and *kyāmi* are adverbs as these occur before the verbal forms and qualify the action denoted by the verbs. Some adverbs may follow verbal forms optionally, as is clear in sentences (150) and (150a)-

(150) *jike* *jike* *gi* *é* *gaḍi* *he* *bé* *jao* *pərne*
 whose whose gen. these carts are those go-imp away.
 ‘ Those persons whose are these carts may go away.’

(150a) *jike* *jike* *gi* *é* *gaḍi* *he* *bé* *pərne* *jao*
 whose whose gen. these carts are those away go-imp
 ‘Those persons whose are these carts may go away.’

Two or more adverbs may also occur together in an utterance, as in (151) and (151a)-

- (151) b́o ət̪t̪hɛ əb awɛ hɛ
 he here now come-prst is

‘He comes here now.’

- (151a) b́o ət̪t̪hɛ əb kəɖɛ kəɖɛ awɛgo
 he here now seldom seldom come-fut.3ms

‘He will come here now off and on.’

Some adverbs in Bagri may begin an utterance as in (152), (152a), and (152b)-

- (152) phɛr bən̪ b̪ɪˈ chɔrɛ nẽ̃ kitab di
 later he+erg that boy acc. book give-pst

‘Later he gave the book to that boy.’

- (152a) ɪ̃ pər r̪aʒa bolyo
 this on king -speak-pst.ms

‘On this, king said.’

- (152b) bə̃t̪t̪hɛ bɪnɛ gadər milyo
 there he+acc jackal meet-pst.ms

‘There he met a jackal.’

3.1.7.1 Formation of Adverbs :

On the bases of their morphemic structure there are two types of adverbs in Bagri: (i) Primary, and (ii) derivative. For example *aj* ‘today’, *roj* ‘daily’, *səwāl* ‘correctly’ etc. are primary and monomorphemic. Whereas adverbs such as *bə̃t̪t̪hɛ* ‘there’, *age* ‘before’, *sammẽ̃* ‘in front of’ etc. are derived and composed of two or more morphemes, as exemplified in (154).

Adverbs may be divided into adverbs of time, place, or location, direction, manner, and purpose or cause. First we shall present the adverbs formed on the pronominal bases. These are presented in a tabular form given below-

(153)

Adverbs of :	Proximate	Remote	Relative	Interrogative
Time	əb	-----	jədde	kədde
Place	ət̪t̪e	bət̪t̪e	jət̪t̪e	kət̪t̪e
Direction	Inne	bInne	jinne	kinne
Manner	Iyā	biyā	jiyā	kiyā
Cause	iyā	-----	----	kyāmi

All these forms can be reduced to the following ultimate constituents and their approximate meanings may also be indicated . The distribution of these constituents are morphologically conditioned.

(154)	Proximate:	ə-	i-	I-
	Remote:	bə-	bi-	bI-
	Relative:	jə-	ji-	
	Interrogative:	kə-	ki-	
	Time (Adv.):	-b	-dde	
	Place (Adv.):	-t̪t̪e		
	Direction (Adv.):	-nne		
	Manner :	I-	b-	j- k- -yā
	Cause:	i-	k-	ā- -mi

The distribution of allomorphs is unique and morphologically conditioned. /ə-/ occurs before /-b/ and forms əb 'now', /j-/ and /k-/ occur before /-dde/ and we get jədde and kədde, /ə-/ , /bə-/ , /jə-/ and /kə-/ occur before /-t̪t̪e/ and thus, we get ət̪t̪e, bət̪t̪e, jət̪t̪e and kət̪t̪e , respectively.

The forms *inně*, *binně*, *jinně*, and *kinně* are phrasal ones made from /i-/, /bi-/, /ji-/, and /ki-/(allomorphs of *ó, bó, jo*, and *kun*) with *ně*, a postposition.

3.1.7.2 Adverbs of negation:

There are four adverbs of negation in Bagri: *ni*, *něi*, *nā* and *koni*. These may be treated separately for their syntactical behaviour. All these adverbs of negation occur in pre-verbal position. Each has its own syntactic peculiarities. This will be clear from the description follows :

(i) *ni* : It negates copula verbs, present tense auxilliary is dropped. The past tense auxilliary, however, is retained.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------------|-----|
| (155) | tharə | dhən | go | ghəto | ni |
| | your | money | gen.ms | scarcity.ms | neg |
- ‘You do not have scarcity of money.’

(ii) *něi* : It negates optative verbal forms, perfective as well as imperfective participle verbal forms. It may also be followed by particle *to* functioning as connectives in some sentences, as in (156) and (157)-

- (156) merū ghəre něi gəyijyo to babo lərego
 I+ abl home neg. go-pst part. father quarrel-fut.3ms
 ‘If I do not go home, the father will scold.’

- (157) mē je něi pəðeto to ke ho jyānto
 I if neg study-pst part. what be happen-pst
 ‘If I had not studied what would have happened.’

(iii) *nā* : It may occur in the beginning of the clause it negates, eg.

- (158) nā to bī gə bap hə
 neg. part he gen father is
 ‘Neither he has father.....’

- (158a) nā mē jawūgo
 neg. I go-fut.ms
 ‘ Neither I will go’

(iv) koni: It is a composite form of *koi* ‘any’ and *nēi* ‘not.’ It occurs with perfective and imperfective participle verbal forms and always precedes them, as in examples (159), and (159a)-

- (159) bəṇ roṭi koni khai
 he+erg bread neg. eat-pst.3ms
 ‘ He did not eat the bread.’

- (159a) tū koni gəyo
 you neg. go-pst.2ms
 ‘You did not go’.

3.2 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 Derivation of nouns :

In Bagri, gender is grammatically assigned in the nouns. Each noun belongs to one of the two genders : masculine and feminine. Gender is marked morphologically by some derivative suffix in case of certain stems: /-o/ is for masculine gender, and - i/-əṇ/-ti / are for feminine gender.

(160a) <u>Masculine</u>		<u>Feminine</u>	
choro	‘boy’	chori	‘girl’
ghoṛo	‘horse’	ghoṛi	‘mare’
dado	‘grand father’	dadi	‘grand mother’
kako	‘uncle’	kaki	‘aunt’
togro	‘he-calf’	togəṛi	‘ she-calf’
gədərto	‘he- donkey’	gədərṭi	‘she-donkey’

(160b) dhobi	‘washerman’	dhobən	‘washerwoman’
teli	‘oilman’	telən	‘oilwoman’
maḷi	‘gardener’	malən	‘gardener’s wife’
lhuar	‘blacksmith’	lhuarən	‘blacksmith’s wife’

3.2.1.1 Nouns expressive of size:

In Bagri, non-human nouns show the distinction of large and small size. Such forms are made variously.

(i) Gender suffixes that marks the size :

In the case of inanimate nouns masculine gender expresses largeness of size and feminine marks the diminutive. Following all the examples where the masculine marking suffixes denote largeness of the size and the corresponding feminine marking denotes the diminutive:

(161) kothəḷo	‘big bag’	kothəḷi	‘small bag’
phako	‘handful thing’	phaki	‘little thing’
pətto	‘leaf’	pətti	‘small bag’

There are also suffixes that denote only diminutive. These are exemplified in (162-166):

(ii) The suffixes /-li/ shows smallness of size and the noun so formed is also feminine.

(162) dumal	‘big turban’	dumali	‘small turban’
kund	‘big round thing’	kundli	‘small round thing’

(iii) / -ti / is added to feminine stems, the resulting form indicates diminutives

(163) ʈogɾi ‘she-calf’ ʈogəɾti ‘young she-calf’

 chiɳi ‘big chisel’ chiɳəti ‘chisel’

(iv) / -ɾi / is added to feminine stems and the resulting form indicates diminutive

(164) pərat ‘big plate’ pəratɾi ‘small plate’

 sə̃nduk ‘box’ sə̃ndukɾi ‘small box’

 pūch ‘tail’ pūchɾi ‘small tail’

(v) / -ək/ is added to an inanimate noun to form its diminutive --

(165) ɖhol ‘big drum’ (m.) ɖholək ‘small drum’ (f.)

3.2.1.2 Other noun stems :

Nouns are derived from various word classes such as noun, adjectives, verbs etc. by means of affixation.

3.2.1.2.1 Nouns from nouns-

The nouns are derived from various noun stems by adding the following suffixes:

(i) / -ɾ / added to noun stem to form nouns of agency or occupation to which are added / -o / and / -i /, respectively to form masculine and feminine:

(167) sutthar-ɾ-o ‘carpenter (m.) sutthar-ɾ-i ‘carpenter’s wife’

 kumhar-ɾ-o ‘potter’ (m.) kumar-ɾ-i ‘potter’s wife’

(ii) /-i/ is added to form nouns of agency and occupation. Such nouns are masculine-

(168) bopar-i ‘businessman’

 ked-i ‘prisoner’

 tel-i ‘oilman’

(iii) /-ar/ is added to noun stems to form nouns of occupation . These are masculine.

(169)	sun - ar	'goldsmith'
	lhu-ar	'blacksmith'
	git-ar	'singer'
	nəcar	'dancer'

(iv) /-i / is added to form the abstract noun. These are feminine.

(170)	cor-i	'theft'
	beiman-i	'dishonesty'

(v) /-au / 'doer': It is added to abstract noun to form agent noun.

(171)	kəmm-au	'one who is earning'
	dUddh-au	'one which is giving milk'

(vi) /-dar/ 'owner': It is added to noun stems to form concrete noun and all these are masculine-

(172)	coki-dar	'watchman'
	lēmər-dar	'head of the village'
	Iman-dar	'honest'

(vii) /-i/ added to the place names to indicate a resident thereof. These are masculine-

(173)	rajəsthani	'Rajasthani'
	pəñjabi	'Punjabi'

(viii) /-baj / added to the to form agent nouns and these are masculine-

(174)	dhoke-baj	'deceiver'
	daru-baj	'drunkard'

(ix) /-pəŋ / added to noun to form abstract noun and it is always followed by masculine suffix /-o /

- (175) dewəta-pəŋ-o ‘godliness’
 mureəkh-paŋ-o ‘foolishness’
 maŋəs-pəŋ-o ‘humanity’

(x) / -Iyət / added to noun to form abstract noun-

- (176) Insan-Iyət ‘humanity’
 adəm-Iyət ‘manliness’

(xi) / -ai / is added to noun as well as adjectival stem to form the abstract noun, and nouns thus formed are feminine-

- (177) səpph-ai ‘cleanliness’
 kəmm-ai ‘earning’
 thəgg-ai ‘looting’

(xii) / -ano / is added to a noun to make an abstract noun belonging to masculine noun. (178) dost-ano ‘friendship’

(xiii) / -aɭ / added to the nouns and indicate possession. The noun formed may take any gender suffixes. These nouns overlap with adjectives.

- (179) akəl-aɭ-o ‘wiseman’ (m.)
 akəl-aɭ-i ‘wisewoman’(f.)
 ūt-aɭ-o ‘one who has camels’(m.)
 dukan-aɭ-i ‘shopkeeper’(f.)

3.2.1.2.2 Nouns from adjectives:

The following suffixes are added to adjective stems to form nouns:

- (i) / -po /
 (180) bUḍḍa-po ‘oldness’
 motta-po ‘bigness’

(ii) / -or / suffix is added and stems so formed take masculine or feminine suffix:

- (181) mott-or-o 'old one (m.)'
 mott-or-i ' old one (f.)'
 chott-or-o 'small one (m.)'
 chott-or-i 'small one (f.)'
 ūc-or-o ' higher one(m.)'

(iii) / -ai / is added to form the noun quality and these are feminine

- (182) ūc-ai 'height'
 cətr-ai 'cleverness'

(iv) / -pəṇ / is added to form abstract nouns--

- (183) kharo -pəṇ 'evilness'
 kalo-pəṇ 'blackness'

(v) / -i / added to adjective stems to form abstract noun stem belonging to feminine gender-

- (184) sUr-k-i 'redness' (blood like)
 lal-i ' redness'(glowish)

3.2.1.2.3 Nouns from verbs:

The following suffixes are added to verbal stems to form nouns:

(i) / -i / is added to form abstract nouns-

- (185) bol-i 'speech'
 cal-i 'gait'

(ii) / -ai / is added to form abstract nouns. These are feminine-

- (186) kutt-ai 'beating'
 lip-ai 'plastering'
 ghəṛ-ai 'shaping'

(iii) /-waḷ / is added to the infinitive to denote nouns of agency. It may take any gender suffix. This overlaps with adjectives--

- (187) khai -waḷ 'eater'
 gəi-waḷ 'cow- grazer'
 ūt-waḷ 'camel-grazer'

(iv) /-əṭ / is added to the verbal stem to form abstract feminine nouns-

- (188) bəḷ-əṭ 'burning'
 ghəṛ-at 'marking'

(v) /-əṭ/ added to verbal stems and generally added to causal verbal stems to form abstract nouns-

- (189) səjjawəṭ 'decoration'(f.)
 ghəṛawəṭ 'shaping'(f.)

(vi) /-aṛi / added only to some stems to form nouns of agency and these are masculine--

- (190) khel-aṛi 'player'

(vii) /-u / added to the verbal stem to form agent nouns and these are masculine--

- (191) ghəṛ-u 'artisan'
 mar-u 'killer'
 kəṛ-u 'worker'

3.2.1.2.4 Nouns from adverbs:

Abstract nouns are derived from adverbs by means of the suffixes:

(i) / -i / 'excess'

(192) bhot-i 'excessiveness'

 thoŕo-i 'scarcity'

(ii) /-æt / is used to derive abstract feminine nouns-

(193) jørur-æt 'necessity'

3.2.1.2.5 Other means:

The nominal prefixes are added to some noun stems to form nouns having some common semantic basis, i.e., attribution, negation.

(194) Attribution:

(i) / ku- / 'bad' ku-put 'a bad son'

 ku-maṇəs 'a bad man'

(ii) / su- / 'good' su-put 'a good son'

 su-ləkhəṇ 'a good natured'

(194) Negation:

(iii) / be- / 'without' be-iman 'dishonest'

 be-ghər 'homeless'

 be-pərəd 'without clothes'

 be-ijjət 'without self-esteem'

(iv) / nã-/ 'negation' nã-layək 'worthless'

 nã-səməj 'innocent'

3.2.2 Derivation of verbs :

3.2.2.1. Verbs from nouns:

(i) Conjunct verbs:

A highly productive way of forming verbs from nouns is by means of a conjunct verb.

Conjunct verbs are formed by adding verbs such as *kərno* 'to do', *hono* 'to be', *ano* 'to come', *jano* 'to go', *deno* 'to give', *leno* 'to take' to preceding nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. The following list shows the process of deriving conjunct verbs:

(195) <u>Noun</u>	<u>Action</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Inchoative</u>
pisənd 'choice'	pisənd kərno 'to like'	pisənd hono 'to like'	pisənd ano 'to like'
ris 'anger'	ris kərni 'to express anger'	ris honi 'to be angry'	ris ani 'to become angry'
yad 'memory'	yad kərno 'to remember'	yad hono 'to remember'	yad ano 'to remember'

Sometimes noun phrases can be used to form nouns, as in (196)-

- (196) mottī batā kərni
big-fp talk.fp do-imp.fp
'To boast.'(lit., to do big talks)

The following sentences (197-202) can exemplify the use of conjunct verbs-

pisənd kərno 'to like'

- (197) mē kitab pisənd kəri
I.erg book.fs like do-pst.fs
'I liked the book.'(action)

pisənd hoŋo 'to like'

- (198) mənne kitab pisənd he
 I+dat.pp book.fs like be-prst.s
 'I like the book.' (stative)

pisənd aŋo 'to like'

- (199) mənne kitab pisənd ayi
 I+dat.pp book.fs like come-pst.fs
 'I liked the book.' (non-stative)

ris kəŋi 'to express anger'

- (200) bəŋ ram pər ris kəri
 he+erg Ram on anger.fs do-pst.fs
 'He was angry at Ram.'

ris hoŋi 'to be angry'

- (201) bī nē ram pər ris he
 he dat.pp Ram on anger.fs be-prst.fs
 'He is angry with ram.'

ris aŋi 'to become angry'

- (202) bī' nē ram pər ris ayi
 he dat.pp Ram on anger.fs come-pst.fs
 'He became angry with Ram.'

Verbs with *hoŋo* and *aŋi* form stative and inchoative verbs in conjunction with non-verbal categories. They take dative subjects, whereas their active counterparts select nominative subjects.

(ii) /-ŋo/ is the infinitive marker and is suffixed to a noun to form verbs from nouns---

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (203) | <u>Noun</u> | <u>Verb</u> | |
| | bəkhan 'description' | bəkhan-ŋo | 'to explain' |
| | bēṭ 'complex' | bēṭ-no | 'to twist' |
| | bol 'word' | bol-ŋo | 'to speak' |

(iii) / -*no* / is added to noun to get verbs nominal stems with double consonants undergo the process of consonant cluster simplification--

(204)	<u>Noun</u>		<u>Verb</u>
	sərəm	'shame'	sərəma- <i>no</i> 'to be bashful'
	dəphən	'burial'	dəphəna- <i>no</i> 'to bury'
	kəmm	'job'	kəma- <i>no</i> 'to earn'
	cəkkər	'circle'	cəkəra- <i>no</i> 'to spin'

3.2.2.2 . Verbs from verbs:

(i) Transitive / Causative verbs:

In Bagri, the two transitive/causative suffixes /-*a*/and /-*wa*/ represent one of the most productive ways of forming verbs from verbs. The two suffixes /-*a*/ (called the 'first causative' suffix), and /-*wa*/ (called the 'second causative' suffix) are attached to the root of a verb, and are placed before the infinitive marker /-*no*/,as

(205)	Stem		Causative-I		Causative-II
	bəd	'be increased'	bəda	'increase'	bədwa 'cause x to increase'
	həʔ	'be removed'	həʔa	'remove'	həʔwa 'cause x to remove'
	pəɖ	'study'	pəɖa	'teach'	pəɖwa 'cause x to cause y to study'
	de	'give'	dira	'cause x to give'	dirwa 'cause x to cause y to give'

It is clear from (205) that intransitive verbs (*bəd*, *həʔ*) , transitive verbs (*pəɖ*) and double transitive verbs (*de*) can be causativised morphologically.

(ii) Compound verbs:

The productive device to form verbs from verbs is juxtaposing verbs to form a compound. Compound verbs involve primarily a sequence of two verbs (v1+v2). The first verb is called 'main verb' and the second is referred as explicator. The explicator verbs add specific abstract meaning to the meaning of the main verb. The

primary meaning of the sentence is determined by the lexical meaning of the main verb. The explicator receives tense-aspectual marking. The following are the examples of compound verb-

- (206) *bó* *a* *gyo*
 he come go-pst.ms
 ‘He has come.’
- (207) *ram* *kɛh* *bətthyo*
 Ram speak sit-pst.ms
 ‘Ram spoke inappropriately.’

In the above examples (206-7), the main verbs are *a* ‘come’ and *kɛ* ‘speak’, respectively, and determine the primary meaning of the verb phrase. The explicators *jaŋo* ‘to go’, in (206) and *bətthyo* ‘to sit’ in (207) add some abstract meaning of termination and inappropriateness, respectively, to the main verb. The abstract meaning is the direct result of the lexical meaning of the verb in question. Only a dozen or so verbs are permitted as explicators in Bagri.

(iii) Verbs are also formed from adverbials, adjectives, and pronouns. The verbs formed are conjunct verbs.

(208) Verbs from pronouns:

<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Action</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Inchoative</u>
<i>apŋo</i>	<i>apŋo kərŋo</i>	<i>apŋo hoŋo</i>	---
‘self’	‘to adopt’	‘to become one’s own’	---

(209) Verbs from adjectives:

<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Action</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Inchoative</u>
<i>accho</i>	<i>accho kərŋo</i>	<i>accho hoŋo</i>	---
‘good’	‘to cause x to recover’	‘to recover’	---

(210) Verbs from Adverbs:

<u>Adverb</u>	<u>Action</u>	<u>Stative</u>	<u>Inchoative</u>
tawəɭ	tawəɭ kəɾɲi	tawəɭ hoɲi	----
‘hurry’	‘to hurry’	‘to be in a hurry’	----

From the above list, it is clear that with the exception of *kəɾɲo* ‘to do’ and *hoɲo* ‘to be’, the other members of the class of conjunct verb forming verbs do not always generate conjunct verbs. The case in point is the verb, *a-ɲo* ‘to come’, the symbol [-] denotes a gap.

(iv) / -ɲo / suffix is added to form verbs from adjectives and pronouns:

(211)	<u>Adjective / Pronouns</u>	<u>Verb</u>
	lɛŋgəɾo ‘lame’	lɛŋgəɾaɲo ‘to limp’
	həkɭo ‘stutterer’	həkɭaɲo ‘to stutter’
	apɲo ‘self’	əpɲaɲo ‘to adopt’

3.2.3 Derivation of adjectives

Adjectives can be derived by nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

3.2.3.1 Adjectives from nouns:

Adjectives are derived from nouns by adding some prefixes/suffixes to nouns.

(i) / *əɲ-* / ‘excessiveness’ prefix marks positive meaning and adjectives thus derived convey the meaning of ‘excessiveness’.

(212)	mol ‘price’	əɲmol ‘priceless’
	bol ‘speech’	əɲbol ‘speechless’

(ii) /be-/la-/bəd-/ə-/ 'negation'

Among the Persian prefixes, /be-/la-/bəd-/ are perhaps the most productive prefixes.

There are borrowed from Persian, they are now equally productive with native Bagri words. The prefix /ə-/ is from Sanskrit.

(213) /be-/

<u>Noun</u>		<u>Adjectives</u>	
jyan	'life'	bejyan	'lifeless'
hos	'consciousness'	behos	'unconscious'
cen	'comfort'	becen	'uncomfortable'
kəsur	'fault'	bekəsur	'innocent'

(214) /la-/

<u>Noun</u>		<u>Adjectives</u>	
barəs	'successor'	labarəs	'without a successor'
ilaj	'treatment'	lailaj	'incurable'
pərwa	'care'	lapərwa	'careless'

(215) /bəd-/

<u>Noun</u>		<u>Adjectives</u>	
nam	'name'	bədnam	'infamous'
kismət	'fate'	bədkismət	'unlucky'

(216) /ə-/

<u>Noun</u>		<u>Adjectives</u>	
nath	'lord'	ənath	'orphan'
nya	'justice'	ənya	'injustice'

(iii) /sə-/ ba- / 'with'

The prefix /sə-/ is borrowed from Sanskrit and /ba-/ is from Persian-

(217)	<u>Noun</u>		<u>Adjective</u>
pariwar	'family'	səpariwar	'with family'
phəḷ	'fruit'	səphəḷ	'successful'
ijət	'respect'	baijət	'with respect'

There are prefixes which are borrowed from Sanskrit and are restricted to words of Sanskrit origin-

(iv) /nir-/ni- /ku-/ 'without, away'

(218)	<u>Noun</u>		<u>Adjective</u>
məl	'filth'	nirməl	'clean'
dos	'guilt'	nirdos	'innocent'
dər	'fear'	nidər	'fearless'
rup	'shape'	kurup	'ugly'

3.2.3.2 Adjectives from verbs:

Adjectives from verbs are formed in the form of participles. There are two participles which can function as adjectives: present and past participles. The present participial marker is /-t-/ which immediately follows the verbal stem and is, in turn, followed by number and gender marker, as shown below:

(219)	Masculine				Feminine
	sg.	pl.		sg.	pl.
	stem-(n)t-o			stem-(n)t-a	stem(n) t-i stem(n) t-i

With stems ending in a vowel, /n/ intervenes the stem and the present participial marker /-t-/. The optional present participial form of the verb *hoṇo* 'to be' may immediately follow the present participial form, as in-

(220)	pəɖto/janto	(hoyo)	choro
	read-prst.ppl.ms / go-prst.ppl.ms	be-pst.ppl.ms	boy.ms
	pəɖta /janta	(hoya)	chora
	read-prst.ppl.mp / go-prst.ppl.mp	be-pst.pl.mp	boy.mp
	pəɖti/janti	(hoyi)	chori
	read-prst-ppl.fs / go-prst.ppl.fs	be-pst.ppl.fs	girl.fs
	pəɖti / janti	(hoyi)	choriã
	read-prst.ppl.fp / go-prst.ppl.fp	be-pst.ppl.fp	girl.fp
	'The boy(s) / girl (s) who is/ are reading / going.'		

The past participial marker is /-r-/ which immediately follows the verbal stem and is, in turn followed by number and gender marker, as shown below:

(221)	Masculine	Feminine
	sg. pl.	sg. pl.
	stem-r-o stem-r-a	stem-r-i stem-r-i

The past participial form of the verb *hoŋo* 'to be' does not take part with the past participle.

(222)	hareŋo	choro
	defeat -pst-ppl.ms	boy.ms
	hareŋa	chora
	defeat-pst-ppl.mp	boy.mp
	hareri	chori
	defeat-pst.ppl fs	girl.-fs
	hareŋi	choriã
	defeat-pst.ppl.fp	girl-fp

' The boy(s)/girl(s) who is/are defeated.'

From the examination of suffixes it becomes clear that the present participial marker is /-t-/ and past participial marker is /-r-/. The participles are inflected for number and gender, i.e. they can take one of the three suffixes: /-o/ (ms.), /-a/ (mp), /-i/ (f s/p) as exemplified in (222).

3.2.4 Derivation of adverbs

3.2.4.1 Adverbs from nouns:

(i) Postpositional incorporation:

Instrumental and locative postpositions may be added with the noun ending in a consonant.

(223)	Noun	Adverb with postposition	
	hath 'hand'	hathyū	'by hand'
	hath 'hand'	hathε	'on hand'

The postpositions *syū* 'from, by' and *pε* 'on' drop their consonant and act like a suffix.

(iii) By adding the suffix /-ən/ 'according to/-ly'

(224)	Noun	Adverb	
	kanun 'law'	kanunən	'according to the law'
	əndaj 'estimate'	əndajən	'by estimate'
	kərib 'approximate'	kəribən	'approximately'

3.2.4.2 Adverbs from verbs :

It is very common to derive adverbs from verbs by means of a participialization method. Both present and past participles function as adverbs. The examples of the participial forms used as adverbs-

- (225) b6 choro mulkto bolyo
 that boy smille-prst.ppl. speak-pst.ms

‘That boy spoke (while) smiling.’

- (226) mē chori nē nachti dekhi
 I girl to dance-pst.ppl see-pst.fs

‘I saw the girl (while she was) dancing.’

3.2.4.3 Adverbs from adjectives:

(i) Word order :

Like nouns, adjectives function as adverbs when they are placed in the preverbal position , e.g.,

- (227) hindi cokhi bolni
 Hindi well speak-inf.

‘.....to speak Hindi well..’

(ii) by adding - *ən/-kər* to the adjective to form adverbs-

- (228) -*ən*

Adjective

Adverb

kərib ‘about’ kəribən ‘approximately’

məjbūr ‘helpless’ məjbūrən ‘by compulsion’

- (229) -*kər*

Adjective

Adverb

khas ‘special’ khaskər ‘specially’

3.2.4.4 Adverbs from adverbs:

These are formed by adding /-ana/ to the adverb-

roj ‘daily’ rojana ‘daily(repetitive)’

3.2.5 Derivation of postpositions

In Bagri, there are two types of postpositions - (i) complex postpositions and, (ii) simple derived postpositions-

(i) Complex postpositions:

Complex postpositions can be classified into two classes: (a) the complex postposition of this class is derived by suffixing /-ũ/ (the abbreviated form of the instrumental postposition *syũ* 'from) either to a simple postposition or to a noun.

(a)	Simple postposition		Complex postposition
(231)	<i>mā</i>	'inside' →	<i>-māũ</i> 'from inside'
	<i>sagε</i>	'with' →	<i>sagεũ</i> 'from the company of'
	<i>kani</i>	'towards' →	<i>kaniũ</i> 'from the direction of'

[* → Phonological change]

(b) Compound postpositions: The genitive postposition *gε* is most widely used with postpositions derived from nouns and adverbs. *gε* 'genitive' precedes such postpositions and follows a noun-

(232)	x	<i>gε</i>	<i>mukablε</i>	'in comparison with x'
	x	<i>gε</i>	<i>sammε</i>	'in front of x'
	x	<i>gε</i>	<i>khatər</i>	'for the sake of x'
	x	<i>gε</i>	<i>kani</i>	'towards x'

N + Gen. + Loc./ Benefactative/.....

These examples in (232) indicate that Bagri has denominal (*mukablo* 'comparison' + *pər* 'on'= *mukablε* 'in comparison') adverbial (*kani* 'towards') and de-adjectival (*bərgo* 'like') postpositions.

(ii) Simple derived postpositions :

(a) De-nominal :

A number of postpositions are derived from nouns either by the addition of a case marker or by adding a postposition:

(233)	<u>Noun</u>		<u>Derived postposition</u>
	khəbbo	'left'	khəbbε 'to the left'
	səjjo	'right'	səjje 'to the right'

(b) De-verbal :

A number of postpositions are derived from the absolutive participial form of causative as well as non-causative verbs:

(234)	<u>Verb</u>		<u>Derived postposition</u>
	mil	'meet'	milgε 'together'
	mila	'cause to meet'	milagε 'including'
	choḍ	'leave'	choḍgε 'excepting'

(c) De-adjectival:

Postpositions are not derived from adjective.

(d) De-adverbial:

Adverbs frequently function as postpositions.

(235) Adverb/Postposition

uppər	'above'	kənε	'near'
təɭε	'below'	agε	'in front'
mā	'inside'	larε	'behind'

3.3 COMPOUNDING

A compound is a lexical unit in which two or more lexical morphemes (free roots) are juxtaposed. The compound nouns in Bagri are classified in terms of semantic relationship held by the constituent noun. Three main semantic relationships hold between constituent nouns: (1) equational, (2) associative, where the resultant compound noun functions general referents of the semantic domain of its constituents, and (3) attributive, where the first noun modifies the second, which functions as a substantive. The verb may also function as attributive, resulting in verb + noun compounds.

3.3.1 Equational compounds

In this type of compound, the two words forming the compound noun have identical or very close meaning. The constituents may differ in basic attributive feature: e.g. ,

- (236) sukh + cən 'peace'
 sukh 'relief' + cən 'peace'
 puja-silam 'worship'
 puja 'worship' + silam 'salutation'
 sewa-susər 'nursing'
 sewa 'service' + susər 'nursing'

3.3.2 Associative compounds

Two nouns incorporating the extreme limiting referents of the same semantic field, or two nouns incorporating the salient characteristics of that semantic field, form compounds whose referential range includes the whole semantic field:

- (237) həwa-pani 'climate'
 həwa 'air' + pani 'water'
 kar-məjuri 'livelihood'
 kar 'work' + məjuri 'wage'
 ɬabər - ɬikər 'family'
 ɬabər 'children' + ɬikər 'wife'

3.3.3 Attribute compounds

The first noun, adjective, or an adverb functions as an attributive and the second as a substantive:

- (238) dheri-rat 'moonless night'
 dheri 'dark' + rat 'night'
 ɖūŋgi-bat 'mystery'
 ɖūŋgi 'deep' + bat 'story, talk'

3.4 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication stands for repetition of all or a part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification. Reduplication thus can be either partial or complete (Abbi, 1991b). Reduplication or repetition of the whole or part of the root or the stem is a characteristic feature of Bagri. It is used for the purpose of intensification, reciprocity, extension and reinforcement of meaning as well as in a pejorative sense. Various types of reduplication include morphological and lexical reduplication. Morphological reduplication is further divided (Abbi,1991b) into expressives and

lexical reduplication into three types, viz, echo formations, compounds and word-reduplication.

3.4.1 Expressives

Expressives are examples of morphological reduplication. Morphological reduplication refers to the minimally meaningful and segmentally indivisible morphemes which are constituted of iterated syllables. Thus, the base and the iterated part together constitute a single morpheme which is also a lexeme (Abbi, 1991b). The expressives include onomatopoeias, sound symbolism, ideophones and imitatives. The expressives might or might not have phonological symbolism.

Expressives in Bagri are used to emote all the five senses of perception, i.e. smell, sight, touch, hearing, and taste; for disorder, confusion, untidiness and different manner of actions. Bagri builds its lexicon by morphological reduplication. Many of the onomatopoeiac and imitatives operate as normal verbs :

- (239) phəṛphəṛa-ṇo 'to flap'
 bəṛbəṛa-ṇo 'to mutter'

1. Acoustic noises:

(a.) Animal noises :

- (240) kəṛ-kəṛ 'grunt of pigs'
 cī-cī 'chirp of sparrows'
 myāu-myāu 'mew of cat'

(b.) Noises of natural phenomenon:

- (241) gərər-gərər 'thundering of clouds'
sər-sər 'sound of blowing wind'
tərər-tərər 'sound of raining'

(c) Noises made by humans:

- (242) phərər-phərər 'sound of snoring'
ghəsər-ghəsər 'sound of feet'
pəcər-pəcər 'sound of trudging through mud'
cəpəl-cəpəl 'sound of eating'
mərər-mərər 'sound of crumbling'
ləpəl-ləpəl 'sound of eating'

(d) Noises made by miscellaneous inanimate objects:

- (243) jhəmək- jhəmək 'jingling sound'
dhər-dhər 'sound of milking of cow'
cərər-cərər 'sound of tearing clothes'

2. Sense of sight :

- (244) jhil-mil 'twinkling'
təp-təp 'flickering'
jəg-məg 'shining'

3. Sense of touch :

- (245) lət-pət 'sticky'
jhur-jhuri 'shivering'
ghəsər-pəsər 'topsy turvy'

4. Sense of smell:

(246) mək-mək 'fragrance'

sərər-sərər 'pungent smell'

5. Sense of Taste:

(247) səpər-səpər 'pungent'

Besides expressing perceptual sensory words, expressives in Bagri express movement, feelings, situations, manner and state of actions:

(248)	kəc-kəc	'annoyance'
	bhəsər-bhəsər	'rudeness'
	gəpa-gəp	'eating speedily'
	təpa-təp	'immediately'
	lot-pot	'tickled'
	jhəpa-jhəp	'immediately'
	səpa-səp	'without hesitation'
	ərən-bərən	'disorder'
	ləṭha-ləṭh	'fighting'
	cəka-cək	'petite'
	phəda-phəd	'hopping'

3.4.2 Echo formation

An echo word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word - partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can be either consonant or vowel) or the initial phoneme (which can either consonant or vowel) or the syllable

of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable (Abbi, 1991b). The ‘replacer’ (phoneme/syllable) sound sequences are more or less fixed and rigid. The replacer sound sequences may not necessarily be unique but may never be numerous.

Bagri has u and a as replacer sounds of echo-words. If the base word has u sound it would have a as replacer sound and if the base word has a or e sound, it would have u as replacer sound. An echo construction can be defined as the construction in which the base word is followed (in rare cases, preceded also) by an echo word (Abbi, 1991b). The echo word has neither any individual occurrence nor any meaning of its own in the language. It requires the status of a meaningful element only after it is being attached to a base word. The echo adds the meaning ‘*et cetera*’ and ‘things similar to’ or ‘associated with that to the base word or the first word. Let us see how far the Bagri examples of echo formations fit into this definitions :

(249) khali uli	‘empty, etc.’
jit ut	‘victory, etc.’
dud ad	‘milk, etc.’
dakh ukh	‘dry grapes, etc.’
bat ut	‘story, etc.’

Also, there are instances where the ‘replacers’ are other than u or a , a C V sequence or a different consonant in the first syllable or a different vowel in the last syllable, and so on.

(250) ədʌo bədʌo	‘exchange, etc.’
kəsər bəsər	‘shortage, etc.’
moʈa moʈi	‘ broadly, etc.’
kərər bərər	‘ bickering’
lekin phekin	‘ but, etc.’
kitab kitub	‘book, etc.’

3.4.3 Word reduplication

Word reduplication refers to the total or partial bimodal reduplication, meaning thereby, repetition of the base of the word or the stem. Reduplication can be of either a syllable or a larger constituent of a word or of the whole word. Whatever be the unit of reduplication, the end result is a new word which has no parallel in its non-duplicated counterpart. From the functional point of view, complete word reduplication can be further divided (Abbi, 1991b) into: (1) class maintaining, and (2) class changing types

(1) Class maintaining complete word reduplication

- (251) moṭo 'big' (adj.)
moṭo-moṭo 'big big' (pl.adj.)
- godḍə 'knee' (n.)
godḍə-godḍə 'upto the knees' (n.)
- tawəlo 'quickly' (adv.)
tawəlo-tawəlo 'quickly' (adv.)
- lilo 'blue' (adj.)
lilo-lilo 'blue' (adj.)
- ṭapəri 'hut' (n.)
ṭapəri-ṭapəri 'hut hut = huts (n.)
- hoḷə 'slowly' (adv.)
hoḷə-hoḷə 'slowly' (adv.)
- do 'two' (adj.)
do-do 'two-two' = two each (adj.)
- rat 'night' (n.)
rat-rat 'night-night' (n.)

(2) Class changing complete word reduplication :

- (252) silo 'cold' (n) → silo-silo 'wet and cold' (adj.)
ap 'self' (proN) → ap-ap 'spontaneous' (adj.)
sóro 'easy' (adj.) → sóro-sóro 'easily' (adv.)
upər 'above' (prep / adv.) → upər-upər 'superficial' (adj.)
roj 'always' (adv.) → roj-roj 'daily' (adj.)
ghəri 'moment' (n) → ghəri-ghəri 'repeatedly' (adv.)

CHAPTER - 4

PHONOLOGY

4.1 PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTAL)

4.1.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes in Bagri are described in terms of the following articulatory features : (i) Labial position (ii) Dental position (iii) Palatal position (iv) Velar position (v) Glottal position (vi) Closure (vii) Flap movement (viii) Trill (ix) Friction or constriction (x) Frictionless aperture (xi) Lateral opening (xii) Retroflexion (xiii) Nasality (xiv) Voicing (xv) Aspiration. The consonantal phonemes can be tabulated on a chart given below:

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
*vl.unasp.	p	t	ɖ	c	k	
*vl.asp	ph	th	ɖʱ	ch	kh	
*vd.unasp	b	d	ɗ	j	g	
*vd.asp	bh	dh	ɗʱ	jʱ	gh	
*nasals	m	n	ɳ			
vl.fricatives		s				h
lateral		l	ɭ			
trill		r				
flap			ɾ			
frictionless	w			y		
continuant						
(* stops)						

However there are contextual phonetic variants of some of these phonemes. A few observations with regard to such variants are made here.

4.1.1.1 Description of individual consonant phonemes with allophonic

variations:

There are thirty one consonant phonemes in Bagri. There are five kinds of consonants : stops, continuants, trill , flap, and laterals. There are two types of stops: nasal and oral. In Bagri, the consonants are made from five positions: lips, teeth, palatal, velum and glottis.

There are five series of stops: bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar; fricatives are only two: dental and glottal; flap is one: retroflex; trill is one : dental; frictionless continuants or semivowels are: labial and palatal.

Description of each consonant phonemes is given below (4.1.1.1.1-7) .

4.1.1.1.1 Stops:

/p / voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop and is not fully released in the final position, e.g.

/pəg / ‘foot’ /upəj / ‘production’ /sap / ‘snake’

/paɖo / ‘he-buffalo’ /səpelo / ‘snake-charmers’ /pap / ‘sin’

/ph / voiceless aspirated bilabial stop and is not fully released in the final position ;e.g

/phəkɪr/ ‘beggar’ /liphapho / ‘paperbag’ /saph/ ‘clean’

/phaltu / ‘useless’ /uphan / ‘boiling’ /bərəph/ ‘ice’

/b/ voiced bilabial stop-

/bis / 'poison' /ṭabər / 'child' /ṭibo/ 'sand dune'

/bin/ 'groom' /səburi / 'patience' / gabo/ 'cloth'

/bh / voiced aspirated bilabial stop does not occur fully aspirated in the final position.

/ bhaṭho / 'pebble' /gyabhəṇ/ 'pregnant' / labh / 'profit'

/ bhed / 'sheep' /jhəbhəko / 'twinkle' / mobhi / 'elder'

/t/ voiceless unaspirated dental stop

/ tango / 'cart' / khətəm / 'finish' /pəto/ 'address'

/tiwan / 'vegetable' /titər/ 'busfard' / sat / 'seven'

/th / Voiceless aspirated dental stop, occurs less aspirated in the final position

/ thali / 'plate' / athəṇ / 'evening' / hath / 'hand'

/ thəpaṭ / 'slape' / suthəṇ/ 'pantaloon' / ənə Rath / 'offense'

/d / voiced unaspirated stop

/dIn / ' day' / sēmdər / 'sea' / yad / 'memory'

/ diyo / 'lamp' / mukdər / 'fortune' / dāḷəd / 'poverty'

/dh / voiced aspirated dental stop is less aspirated in the final position:

/ dhan / 'grain' / bədhai / 'greeting' / bəḷədh / 'ox'

/ dhatu / 'metal' / Āndhero / 'darkness' / sadhu / 'hermit'

/ṭ / voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop:

/ ṭibo / 'sand dune' / mətər / 'pea' / moṭo / 'big'

/ṭand/ 'rack' /ṭamaṭar/ 'tomato' /roṭi/ 'bread'

/ ʈ / voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop:

/ ʈam / ‘utensils’	/ ʈ̃nguʈho / ‘thumb’	/ aʈ / ‘eight’
/ ʈali / ‘vacant’	/ kaʈəri / ‘drawer’	/ saʈ / ‘sixty’

/ ɖ / voiced unaspirated retroflex stop:

/ ɖ̃ungʈo / ‘deep’	/ ʈɖiyo / ‘baby camel’	/ bʈed / ‘sheep’
/ ɖungər / ‘mountain’	/ gaɖər / ‘girdle’	/ paɖi / ‘baby-buffalo’

/ ɖʱ / voiced aspirated retroflex stop and it occurs less aspirated in final position:

/ dhilo / ‘loose’	/ pəɖhai / ‘study’	/ baɖʱ / ‘flood’
/ dhək / ‘lid’	/ caɖhai / ‘invasion’	/ kəɖʱi / ‘curry’

/ c / voiceless unaspirated palatal stop

/ cand / ‘moon’	/ cəməceɾ / ‘bat’	/ kac / ‘glass’
/ cawəl / ‘rice’	/ c̃incəɾ / ‘tick’	/ sac / ‘true’

/ ch / voiceless aspirated palatal stop:

/ choro / ‘boy’	/ məchəli / ‘fish’	/ kach / ‘armpit’
/ chiyã / ‘shadow’	/ machər / ‘mosquito’	/ bəchi / ‘she-calf’

/ j / voiced unaspirated palatal stop:

/ jaɭ / ‘net’	/ jəjəman / ‘host’	/ kərəj / ‘debt’
/ jadu / ‘magic’	/ rijai / ‘quilt’	/ marij / ‘patient’

/jh/ voiced aspirated palatal stop and it occurs less aspirated in middle and final position

/jhoḷo/ 'bag'	/majhda/ 'current'	/səməjh/ 'intellect'
/jhəpir/ 'jerk'	/səməjhda/ 'wise'	/bojh/ 'load'

/k/ voiceless unaspirated velar stop:

/kaṭho/ 'tight'	/nokə/ 'servant'	/hako/ 'noise'
/kam/ 'work'	/ṭokəri/ 'bell'	/pako/ 'ripe'

/kh/ voiceless aspirated velar stop:

/khas/ 'special'	/rəkhās/ 'mōnster'	/pāṅkh/ 'feather'
/khet/ 'field'	/rukhaḷi/ 'vigil'	/rakh/ 'ash'

/g/ voiced unaspirated velar stop:

/gabho/ 'cloth'	/ṭingə/ 'child'	/sog/ 'mourn'
/gam/ 'village'	/lugai/ 'woman'	/rog/ 'disease'

/gh/ voiced aspirated velar stop and it occurs less aspirated in middle and final positions:

/ghər/ 'house'	/ḍūṅghai/ 'depth'	/ḍūṅgho/ 'deep'
/ghəro/ 'pitcher'	/beghər/ 'homeless'	/singh/ 'lion'

4.1.1.1.2 Nasal:

/ m / voiced bilabial nasals :

/melo/ 'dirty'	/bimari/ 'sickness'	/səram/ 'shyness'
/meḷo/ 'fair'	/həmesā/ 'daily'	/kəram/ 'activity'

/n/ has three allophones, which are all voiced:

[ɲ] a palatal nasal occurs before palatal stops:

/bãncɛɾo/ [bɛ̃ɲcɛɾo] 'saved' /pẽɲjo/ [pɛ̃ɲjo] 'paw'

[ŋ] a velar nasal which occurs before voiced velar stops:

/rẽŋg/ [rɛ̃ŋg] 'colour' /dũŋgo/ [dũŋgo] 'deep'

[n] a dental nasal occurs in all other environments:

/nak/ 'nose' /minəkʰ/ 'man' /dhan/ 'grain'

/ɳ/ does not occur in the word initial position. It has two allophones.

[N] a voiced retroflex nasal stop occurs with homorganic consonants:

/kuɳɖi/ [kuNɖi] 'vessel' /kuɳɖ/ [kuNɖ] 'tank'

[ɳ̌] a voiced retroflex nasal flap occurs elsewhere:

/paɳi/ [paɳ̌i] 'water' /məɳ/ [məɳ̌] 'mound'

4.1.1.1.3 Fricatives:

/s/ a voiceless dental fricative occurs in all environments:

/siɾo/ 'sweet dish' /kirsan/ 'farmer' /malis/ 'massage'

/səgəɭo/ 'whole' /osaɳ/ 'free time' /nikhaləs 'pure'

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative; fricatives are always released initially, but medially and finally these are not fully released. ^{/ɸ/} These are like murmured vowels (Abbi, Personal communication.)

/hãnsi/ 'laughter' /báɸ r/ 'out' /lóɸ / 'iron'

/hajəri/ 'attendance' /náɸ r/ 'tiger' /sɛɸ / 'all'

4.1.1.1.4 Trill:

/r/ voiced dental alveolar trill occurs in all positions :

/raɾ/ 'quarrel' /marəg/ 'way' /təkə/ 'come across'

4.1.1.1.5 Flap:

/ɾ/ voiced retroflex flap ; does not occur in the initial position in the word:

/əɾək/ 'weed' /səɾək/ 'road' /ghoɾo/ 'horse'

/pəɾədo/ 'curtain' /ghəɾai/ 'shape' /ɿkkəɾ/ 'bread'

4.1.1.1.6 Laterals:

/l/ voiced dental lateral:

/log/ 'persons' /pələk/ 'eyelid' /sal/ 'year'

/lugai/ 'woman' /halet/ 'condition' /lal/ 'red'

/ɭ/ voiced retroflex lateral does not occur in the word initial position:

/dhoɭo/ 'white' /bəɭət/ 'burning' /muɭo/ 'radish'

/kaɭ/ 'famine' /gəɭət/ 'wrong' /jaɭo/ 'web'

4.1.1.1.7 Frictionless continuants:

/w/ has two allophones

[v] a voiced labiodental frictionless continuant occurs before front vowels:

/wiwwa/ [vɪwwa] 'marriage'

[w] voiced labial frictionless continuant occurs in all other environments:

/sawəl/ 'right' /bhuwa/ 'father's sister'

/cawəl/ 'rice' /dhūnwɔ/ 'smoke'

/y/ voiced palatal frictionless continuant:

/yar/ 'friend' /maya/ 'money' /lay/ 'fire'

/pyar/ 'love' /tyar/ 'ready' /hay/ 'curse'

4.1.1.2 Consonantal length:

There are three degrees of phonetic length in consonants in Bagri: (i) geminated and (ii) fortis and (iii) simple. Some consonants occur in all the positions whereas geminated and fortis occur only in the intervocalic position even if intervened by /y/. But fortis occur only in the second syllable of the word. All the consonants except /n r l r y h/ can occur geminated as well as fortis.

Geminated consonants do not contrast with fortis as geminated occur after short vowels and fortis occur after long vowels. Geminate behave like consonant clusters in the syllabic structure of the language, the first half goes with the preceding vowel and the latter half with following one. When aspirates geminated the first consonantal number is de-aspirated. The following examples illustrate contrast of geminate and simple consonants:

/ t : tt /	/ pəto /	'knowledge'
	/pətto/	'leaf'
	/ mətirio/	'watermelon'
	/datti /	'sickle'
/ k: kk/	/səkət/	'tough'
	/cəkkər/	'circle'
/ n : nn/	/muni /	'a saint'
	/munni/	'a girl child'

Simple consonants do not contrast with fortis, as fortis occur only in intervocalic position of a disyllabic word and simple occurs in all other positions.

[up : r]	‘on’
[upaɾo]	‘root out’(imp.polite)
[up :aɾ]	‘carry’, ‘lift’ (imp.)
[dhobənti]	‘washer woman’
[dhob:i]	‘washerman’
[macəɭlo]	‘small cot’
[mac:o]	‘cot’

A few more examples of geminates are given below:

/-pp-/	/təppəno/	‘to be hot with fire’	/sippai/	‘constable’
/-pph-/	/səpphai/	‘cleanliness’	/nəppho/	‘profit’
/-bb-/	/dəbb/	‘to be pressed’	/gobbi/	‘cauliflower’
/-tt-/	/kəttərɳi/	‘scissors’	/kutto/	‘dog’
/-tth-/	/həttəhəli/	‘palm’	/jəttəho/	‘group’
/-dd-/	/naddi/	‘river’	/kəddə/	‘whenever’
/-ddh-/	/siddho/	‘straight’	/bəddhəno/	‘increase’
/-ṭṭ-/	/nəṭṭno/	‘refuse’	/beṭṭi/	‘daughter’
/-ṭṭh-/	/əṭṭhais/	‘twenty eight’	/kattho/	‘tight’
/-ḍḍ-/	/jaḍḍo/	‘thick’	/bəḍḍai/	‘praise’
/-ḍḍh-/	/baḍḍno/	‘cut’	/bəḍḍhai/	‘cutting’
/-cc-/	/pəccis/	‘twenty five’	/sacco/	‘true’
/-cch-/	/bəccho/	‘calf’	/accho/	‘good’
/-jj-/	/səjjwat/	‘decoration’	/nijjər/	‘sight’
/-jjh-/	/mejjhər/	‘drop out’	/nimjjhər/	‘flowers’
/-kk-/	/məkki/	‘maize’	/hakko/	‘noise’
/-kkh-/	/sikkh/	‘learn’	/okkho/	‘hard’

/-gg-/	/səggai/	‘engagement’	/dəggo/	‘deceive’
/-ggh-/	/tʰeggho/	‘support’	/bogghər/	‘tiger’
/-mm-/	/sammɛ/	‘front’	/lammo/	‘long’
/-nn-/	/kənnɛ/	‘near’	/nanno/	‘small’
/-ss-/	/əssi/	‘eighty’	/nəss/	‘vein’
/-ll-/	/məll/	‘wrestler’	/pəll/	‘minute’
/-ww-/	/suwwo/	‘parrot’	/kuwwo/	‘well’

4.1.1.3 Distribution and contrast:

All consonants except /ŋ ɭ ʀ/ occur in all positions. /ŋ ɭ ʀ/ do not occur initially.

The following examples illustrate phonemic contrasts:

4.1.1.3.1 Contrast of articulation:

Nasals

/m n ŋ/, the nasals, do not show any contrast other than that of place of articulations: All of them are unaspirated and voiced. The examples are:

Labial vs. dental:

/m : n/	/dam/ ‘price’	/kam/ ‘work’	/bhem/ ‘doubt’
	/dan/ ‘charity’	/kan/ ‘ear’	/bhɛn/ ‘ear’

Dental vs. retroflex:

/n : ŋ/	/kano/ ‘edge of’	/məŋ/ ‘thought’	/tan/ ‘rhythm’
	/kaŋo/ ‘one eyed’	/məŋ/ ‘maund’	/taŋ/ ‘spread’ (imp)

Frictionless continuants:

Labial vs. palatal:

/w : y/	/war/ ‘time’	/swar/ ‘rider’	/baw/ ‘pain’
	/yar/ ‘friend’	/syar/ ‘jackal’	/bay/ ‘poisoning’

Fricatives

Dental vs. glottal:

/s: h/	/sing/ 'horn'	/siro/ 'porridge'	/khes/ 'blanket'
	/hing/ 'asefoetida'	/hiro/ 'diamond'	/kheh/ 'dirt'

Stops

Dental vs. retroflex (vl. unasp):

/t : ṭ/	/tango/ 'cart'	/lat/ 'leg'	/bat/ 'talk'
	/ṭango/ 'hang' (imp)	/laṭ/ 'allot'	/baṭ/ 'wick'

Dental vs. retroflex (vl. asp):

/th : tḥ/	/tham/ 'stop' (imp)	/matho/ 'head'	/hath/ 'hand'
	/tḥam/ 'utensils'	/m̥tho/ 'lazy'	/atḥ/ 'eight'

Dental vs. retroflex (vd. unasp):

/d : ḍ/	/dujo/ 'second'	/bhed/ 'secret'	/kado/ 'mud'
	/ḍujo/ 'cork'	/bheḍ/ 'sheep'	/kaḍo/ 'syrup'

Dental vs. retroflex (vd. asp):

/dh : dḥ/	/b̥dh/ 'to grow'	/sadh/ 'hermit'	/dh̥ko/ 'jerk'
	/b̥dḥ/ 'to be cut'	/s̥adḥ/ 'a month'	/dh̥ko/ 'hid'

Trill vs. flap:

Dental vs. retroflex:

/r : ṛ/	/maro/ 'beat' (imp)	/sari/ 'all'	/par/ 'cross'
	/maṛo/ 'bad'	/saṛi/ 'a garment'	/paṛ/ 'cultivation'

Laterals:

Dental vs. retroflex:

/l : ḷ/	/melo/ 'put' (imp.)	/gal/ 'cheek'	/pal/ 'prohibition'
	/meḷo/ 'fair'	/gaḷ/ 'abuse'	/paḷ/ 'bank'

4.1.1.3.2 Contrast of Manner:

(i) Stop vs. flap vs. lateral

/ d : r /

/ ɾ / The retroflex flap does not occur in the word initial position . Thus the contrasts are available in the medial and final positions

/ paɾo / 'he buffalo'	/ kũɾɗ / 'tank'	/ rãɾɗ / 'widow'
/ paɾo / 'break'	/ kuɾ / 'lie'	/ raɾ / 'quarrel'

/ ɖ : r /	/ ɖoko / 'stick'	/ baɖo / 'squaint'	/ gaɖo / 'cart'
	/ roko / 'stop'	/ baro / 'big pot'	/ garo / 'mud'

/ d : l / / l / (the retroflex lateral) does not occur in the word initial position.

The contrast is found in the medial and final positions only.

/ paɖo / 'he- buffalo'	/ gaɖ / 'fix'	/ bheɖ / 'sheep'
/ paɭo / 'bring-up (imp)'	/ gaɭ / 'abuse'	/ bheɭ / 'get together'

/ l : r /	/ loi / 'blood'	/ ɖol / 'big pot'	/ boli / 'dialect'
	/ roi / 'wept'	/ ɖor / 'thread'	/ bori / 'sack'

/ l : ɾ / both of them occur in the medial and final positions :

/ muɭo / 'radish'	/ baɭo / 'ring'	/ jaɭ / 'a tree'
/ muɾo / 'return'	/ baɾo / 'promise'	/ jaɾ / 'molar teeth'

(ii) Stop vs. frictionless continuant :

/ p : w : b /

/ paɳi / 'water'	/ bis / 'twenty'	/ raw / 'king'
/ waɳi / 'sound'	/ wis / 'poison'	/ rab / 'porridge'

4.1.1.3.3 Contrast of the secondary features:

Contrast of voiced vs. voicelessness and aspiration vs. lack of aspiration are given below:

(i) Voiced vs. Voiceless

/ p : b /

/ pis / 'grind' / upər / 'on' / jip / 'jeep'

/ bis / 'twenty' / ubər / 'exceed' / jib / 'tongue'

/ ph : bh /

/ phul / 'flower' / saphəl / 'victorious' / saph / 'clean'

/ bhul / 'mistake' / səbhəl / 'rod' / sabh / 'saheb'

/ t : d /

/ tan / 'rhythm' / data / 'God' / bat / 'matter'

/ dan / 'gift' / dada / 'grand father' / bad / 'competition'

/ t̪ : d̪ /

/ t̪al / 'put off' / b̪ə̌t̪tai / 'distribution' / bh̪ē̌ / 'offer'

/ d̪al / 'branch' / b̪əd̪d̪ai / 'praise' / bh̪ed̪ / 'sheep'

/ c : j /

/ cor / 'thief' / socno / 'to think' / moc / 'sprain'

/ jor / 'force' / sojno / 'to search' / moj / 'enjoyment'

/ k : g /

/ kaḷ / 'famine' / pəkeṛo / 'ripe' / rok / 'stop'

/ gaḷ / 'abuse' / pəgeṛo / 'support' / rog / 'sickness'

/ kh : gh /

/ khaṭo / 'sour' / bəkhāṇ / 'description' / mokho / 'hole'

/ ghaṭo / 'loss' / bəghāṇ / 'activity' / mogho / 'pipe'

(ii) Unaspirates vs. aspirates

/ p : ph /

/ palo / 'a grass' / səppai / 'constable' / sap / 'snake'

/ phalo / 'swelling' / səpphai / 'cleanliness' / saph / 'clean'

/ b : bh /

/ bat / 'tell' / dab / 'press' / tib / 'an iron leaf'

/ bhat / 'rice' / dabh / 'turn' / jibh / 'tongue'

/ t : th /

/ tara / 'stars' / toto / 'parrot' / sat / 'seven'

/ thara / 'yours' / thocho / 'hollow' / sath / 'along'

/ d : dh /

/ dan / 'gift' / bəndo / 'servant' / bad / 'competition'

/ dhan / 'grain' / bəndho / 'stoppage' / badh / 'leather'

/ t : th /

/ tat / 'canvas' / kat / 'rust' / pet / 'stomach'

/ that / 'pomp' / kath / 'wood' / peth / 'rapport'

/ d : dh /

/ dil / 'body' / bəddai / 'praise' / bad / 'flood'

/ dhil / 'slackness' / bəddai / 'cutting' / badh / 'cut (imp)'

/ k : kh /

/ kam / 'work' / pəkano / 'to cook' / nak / 'nose'

/ kham / 'envelope' / pəkhano / 'latrine' / nakh / 'to throw'

/ g : gh /

/ gal / 'cheek' / pago / 'leg of the cot' / bag / 'garden'

/ ghal / 'put inside' / pagho / 'turban' / bagh / 'tiger'

/ c : ch /

/ cini / 'sugar' / bæcco / 'kid' / kac / 'glass'

/ chini / 'chisel' / baccho / 'he-calf' / kach / 'arm pit'

/j : jh /

/jal / 'net'

/roj / 'daily'

/baj / 'hawk'

/jhal / 'welding'

/roj / 'cow antelope'

/banjh / 'barren lady'

4.1.2 Vowels

To describe the vowels in Bagri, the following articulatory features are taken into consideration : (i) tongue position, (ii) tongue height, and (iii) lip position

There are three tongue positions: front, central , and back . There are four tongue heights: high, lower high, mid, and low. There are two lip positions : rounded and unrounded.

The vowel phonemes are shown below in a chart :

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Lower high	I		U
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	ε	a	

4.1.2.1 Vowel length :

Phonetically the vowels /i e ε a o u/are longer than /I ə U/ in Bagri. There are variations in phonetic length among long vowels depending on their phonetic environment.

(a) In monosyllabic words these vowels are longer as exemplified below:

/ piṛ /	[pi . ṛ]	'pain'
/ dīl /	[dī . l]	'body'
/ īṛ /	[ī.]	'this'
/ ek /	[e.k]	'one'
/ peṛ /	[pe.ṛ]	'tree'
/ mé /	[me.]	'in'
/ bhēn /	[bhə.n]	'sister'
/ mā /	[mā.]	'in'
/ ja /	[ja.]	'go'
/ ó /	[ò.]	'this'
/ bat /	[ba . t]	'matter'
/ bó /	[bò.]	'that'
/ kó /	[ko.]	'say' (imp)
/ kuṇ /	[ku . ṇ]	'who'

(b) In a disyllabic word, vowels in the first syllable, if open, is longer-

/ kuṇi /	[ku . ṇi]	'joint of the arm'
/ phũkṇi /	[phukṇi]	'a blow pipe'
/ saḷo /	[sa.ḷo]	'brother-in law'
/ sabto /	[sabto]	'complete'

(c) In the final position contrast of length is neutralised phonetically it is realized indifferently. Examples are-

/ dadi /	[dadi]	'grand mother'
	[dadi.]	
/ kako /	[kako]	'uncle'
	[kako.]	

(d) Low vowels occur more open and high vowels more close in open syllables-

/ɛrəŋ /	[ə: rəŋ]	‘anvil’
/lɛŋ /	[le: ŋ]	‘line’
/chɛ /	[chəe]	‘six’
/bhɛŋ /	[bhɛ:ŋ]	‘sister’

(e) All these vowels accompanied by nasalisation are longer and tense-

/ākh /	[ā. kh]	‘eye’
/pākh /	[pā. kh]	‘wing’
/ūṭ /	[ū. t]	‘camel’
/mūḍo /	[mū . ḍo]	‘mouth’

4.1.2.2 Distribution and contrast:

Distributionally, vowels fall into two groups, namely short and long. The short vowels, i.e. /I ə U/ do not occur finally.

/i/ is a high front tense unrounded vowel:

/is / ‘long arm of the cot’ / ḍil / ‘body’ / kuri / ‘liar’

/I/ is a low high front lax unrounded vowel:

/Imməli / ‘tamarind’ / dIwwəli / ‘termite’ / bis / ‘poison’

/e/ is a mid front unrounded vowel :

/ek / ‘one’, / keḷo / ‘banana’

/ɛ/ is a low front unrounded vowel:

/ɛrəŋ / ‘anvil’ / bhɛŋ / ‘sister’ / mɛ / ‘in’

/ u / is a high back tense rounded vowel:

/ upər / 'on' / rui / 'cotton' / karu / 'worker'

/ U / is a low high back and lax unrounded vowel:

/ Uttradh / 'north' / kUp/ 'pile' / jhəppø / 'assemblage'

/ o / is a mid back rounded vowel :

/ okho / 'uncomfortable' / ló / 'iron' / gabhó / 'cloth'

/ ə / is a mid central unrounded vowel :

/ əmərət / 'elixir' / pəto / 'knowledge'

/ a / is a low central unsounded vowel :

/ aɔ / 'flour' / bat / 'story' / ghoɾa / 'horses'

4.2 PHONOTACTICS

4.2.1 Distribution of consonants

(a) Word-initial consonants

All consonant segments including the borrowed segments occur word initially. The only exceptions are retroflex liquids and nasal, e.g. /ɭ/, /ɽ/ and /ɳ/.

(b) Word-medial consonants

Glottal /h/ usually does not occur word medially, the only exception is the word *aha* 'hurray'.

(c) Word-final consonants

All consonant segments including the borrowed segments occur word finally. Only three consonants -glottal /h/, and /v/ cannot be found word finally.

4.2.2 Consonant clusters

The consonant clusters are dealt with under two heads : (i) in a monomorphemic word (ii) in polymorphemic words

Sequences in words further are described in three positions : (a) initial (b) medial (c) final

4.2.2.1 Monomorphemic words :

4.2.2.1.1. Initial clusters-

In Bagri, initial consonant clusters are very much limited. Only /y/ or /h/ occur as second member, /y/ can form a cluster with any consonant that occurs initially .

While /h/ occurs with /l,m,n/ only. Examples are-

/pyar/	‘love’
/tyar/	‘ready’
/kyar/	‘undercut’
/cyar/	‘four’
/syar/	‘jackal’
/jyeth/	‘husband’s elder brother’
/kyar/	‘undercutting’
/gyabhən/	‘pregnant’
/lhər/	‘wave’
/mhəl/	‘palace’
/nhər/	‘canal’

4.2.2.1.2 Medial clusters-

Only clusters of two consonants occur in intervocalic position in a monomorphemic word . There is always a syllabic cut between the clusters. The first member forms the coda of the preceding syllable and the second member occurs as onset of the

following syllable. All the initial and final clusters except the nasals followed by /h/ in the initial position occur in the medial positions. There are ^{restrictions on the occurrence of} two consonants _{two}

occurring together :

- (i) Rarely two stops occur in a cluster
- (ii) Homorganic nasals and sibilants do not occur as the second member.

The examples showing the clusters are

/-ps-/	/təpsya/	‘meditation’
/-tl-/	/mətləb/	‘meaning’
/-tw-/	/ditwar/	‘Sunday’
/-dm-/	/admi/	‘man’
/-dl-/	/badlu/	‘name’ (male)
/-kb-/	/əkbar/	‘newspaper’
/-ks-/	/nUksan/	‘harm’
/-gr-/	/səgret/	‘cigarette’
/-mb-/	/tẽmbu/	‘tent’
/-mr-/	/əmrud/	‘guava’
/-nd-/	/mĩndər/	‘temple’
/-ng-/	/ãngli/	‘finger’
/-nd-/	/səndəɭ	‘shoe’
/-ng-/	/siŋgar/	‘decoration’
/-st-/	/ustad/	‘master’
/-sm-/	/dUsmən/	‘enemy’
/-sy-/	/hũsyar/	‘wise’
/-rbh-/	/pərbhət/	‘ morning’
/-rt-/	/barta/	‘story’
/-rth-/	/pIrthi/	‘name(male)’
/-rdh-/	/gordhən/	‘name of the mountain’

/-rg-/	/khərgos/	'rabbit'
/-rs-/	/kɪrsən/	'Krishan' (God)
/-rɾ-/	/sərrək/	'road'
/-lt-/	/phaltu/	'spare'
/-lg-/	/bəlɡəm/	'phlegm'
/-ls-/	/pɪlsən/	'pencil'
/-lkh-/	/olkhən/	'recognition'
/-wh-/	/tɪwhār/	'festival'

4.2.2.1.3 Final clusters-

Clusters in final positions are limited to stops and homorganic nasals, or fricative as first member and /y/ as second.

- (i) / dost / 'friend'
 / sūmp / 'asfoetida'
 / nim / 'neem tree'
 / sənt / 'saint'
 / nəŋəd / 'sister-in-law'
 / pisənd / 'liking'
 / asəŋg / 'mood'
 / lang / 'half dhoti'
 / bənt / 'twisting'
 / kund / 'tank' (in earth)
- (ii) - y #
 / hansy / 'laughter'
 / dhansy / 'cough'

4.2.2.2 Polymorphemic words:

All the clusters which occur in monomorphemic words in the initial and final position of a word, may also occur in the polymorphemic words in the same positions. Clusters of four consonants only occur medially in polymorphemic words. Restrictions found in monomorphemic words do not hold good here. For instance clusters of two stops or aspirates as first member are found to occur here.

4.2.2.2.1 Two consonant clusters in polymorphemic words-

In Bagri, most of the clusters occur at the morpheme boundary which usually coincides with the syllabic boundary. Some clusters are formed due to morphophonemic adjustment. Stops occur with greater freedom with sonorants than with stops in a cluster. Following are the restrictions:

(i) Voiceless stops do not occur as first member with voiced stop. There are one or two exceptions to this. (ii) Dental stops do not occur as first member with retroflex. But in sonorants retroflex occurs as the second member with dentals as the first member. (iii) Homorganic nasals do not occur as second member. Nasals do occur with non-homorganic stops with greater freedom. (iv) Two aspirants can occur together in few examples. (v) Nasals do occur with / h / as the second member. However, this cluster occurs in word initially.

/ -pt- /	/həpto /	‘week’
/ -pn- /	/ səpno /	‘dream’
/ -pŋ- /	/ apŋo /	‘self’
/ -pr- /	/ khopro /	‘coconut’
/ -pr- /	/ kəpro /	‘cloth’

/ -py- /	/ napyo /	‘measured’
/ -bt- /	/ sabto /	‘complete’
/ -bj- /	/ kəbjo /	‘hinge’
/ -bk- /	/ chibkəli /	‘lizard’
/ -br- /	/ jəbro /	‘good’
/ -br̥- /	/ jəbr̥o /	‘jaw’
/ -bl- /	/ kablo /	‘screw’
/ -by- /	/ dabyo /	‘pressed’
/ -tm- /	/ satmo /	‘seventh’
/ -tr- /	/ sətra /	‘seventeen’
/ -tr̥- /	/ pərat̥ri /	‘large plate’
/ -tṇ- /	/ jitṇo /	‘win’ (inf.)
/ -ty- /	/ katyo /	‘spin’
/ -th̥li- /	/ koth̥li /	‘bag’
/ -dt- /	/ kudto /	‘jumping’ (prst. ppl.)
/ -dṇ- /	/ cāḍṇi /	‘moonlight’
/ -dr- /	/ cēḍndru /	‘fool’
/ -dr̥- /	/ gadr̥o /	‘jackal’
/ -dl̥- /	/ bəḍl̥o /	‘revenge’
/ -dṇ- /	/ kudṇo /	‘jump’ (inf.)
/ -dy- /	/ kudyo /	‘jumped’
/ -dhr- /	/ padhro /	‘straight’
/ -tt- /	/ kutto /	‘beating’
/ -t̥k- /	/ bəṭ̥ko /	‘bite’
/ -ṭr- /	/ laṭ̥ri /	‘lottery’
/ -ṭl̥- /	/ hoṭ̥lo /	‘with big lips’
/ -ṭli- /	/ poṭ̥li /	‘bag’
/ -ṭṇ- /	/ kuṭ̥ṇo /	‘beat’ (inf.)
/ -ṭy- /	/ bāṭyo /	‘distributed’

/ -ḍt- /	/ uḍto /	'flying'
/ -ḍk- /	/ paḍki /	'baby buffalo'
/ -ḍs- /	/ tiṇḍsi /	'cucumber'
/ -ḍr- /	/ deḍrio /	'frog'
/ -ḍṇ- /	/ uḍṇo /	'fly' (inf.)
/ -ḍl- /	/ kũḍli /	'horoscope'
/ -ḍy- /	/ bhedyā /	'sheep' (pl.)
/ -ḍht- /	/ baḍhto /	'cutting' (prst. ppl.)
/ -ḍhṇ- /	/ peḍhṇo /	'read' (inf.)
/ -ct- /	/ socto /	'thing' (prst. ppl.)
/ -ck- /	/ hIcki /	'hiccup'
/ -cm- /	/ kŪcmad /	'mischief'
/ -cn- /	/ khurēcṇo /	'a scraper'
/ -cḷ- /	/ kãcḷi /	'brassiere'
/ -cṇ- /	/ becṇo /	'sell' (inf.)
/ -cy- /	/ khẽncyo /	'drew'
/ -chṛ- /	/ pũchṛo /	'tail'
/ -chḷ- /	/ Uchḷno /	'jump' (inf.)
/ -chṇ- /	/ puchṇo /	'ask' (inf.)
/ -chy- /	/ puchyo /	'asked'
/ -jt- /	/ sojto /	'searching' (prst. ppl.)
/ -jr- /	/ bajri /	'millet'
/ -jḷ- /	/ kajḷio /	'corrillium'
/ -jṇ- /	/ bhajṇo /	'run' (inf.)
/ -jy- /	/ tijyā /	'a festival'
/ -kt- /	/ Iktis /	'thirty one'
/ -kṇ- /	/ cikṇo /	'smooth'
/ -kr- /	/ bækri /	'she-goat'
/ -kṛ- /	/ sãkṛo /	'narrow'
/ -kl- /	/ eklo /	'alone'

/ -kḷ- /	/ sāḷḷi /	‘chain’
/ -kṇ- /	/ kukṇo /	‘weep’ (inf.)
/ -ky- /	/ sākṇo /	‘managed’
/ -kht- /	/ dekhto /	‘seeing’ (prst. ppl.)
/ -khr- /	/ mēskhro /	‘clown’
/ -khṇ- /	/ dekhṇo /	‘see’ (inf.)
/ -khy- /	/ rakhyo /	‘kept’
/ -gt- /	/ sūḡto /	‘smelling’ (prst. ppl.)
/ -gṇ- /	/ jagṇo /	‘wake up’ (inf.)
/ -gr- /	/ sārēgro /	‘nasty’
/ -gḷ- /	/ kaglo /	‘crow’
/ -gḷ- /	/ sēglo /	‘all’
/ -gw- /	/ bhēgwan /	‘God’
/ -gy- /	/ lagyo /	‘fixed’
/ -ghr- /	/ gaghro /	‘skirt’
/ -mb- /	/ lambo /	‘long / tall’
/ -mt- /	/ kēmti /	‘less’
/ -mj- /	/ sēmjawēni /	‘advice’
/ -mṇ- /	/ bamni /	‘brahmin’s wife’
/ -mr- /	/ kēmro /	‘room’
/ -mr- /	/ nimri /	‘neem tree (fem.)
/ -mḷ- /	/ cōmləka /	‘imitation’
/ -my- /	/ dhamyo /	‘settled’
/ -mw- /	/ jumwar /	‘responsible’
/ -nt- /	/ antəri /	‘intestine’
/ -nth- /	/ gunthṇo /	‘twist’ (inf.)
/ -nd- /	/ mēndo /	‘sick’
/ -ndh- /	/ bandhi /	‘tied’

/ -nc- /	/ bancno /	'read' (inf.)
/ -nj- /	/ pənjo /	'paw'
/ -nk- /	/ minki /	'cat'
/ -ng- /	/ tangã /	'legs'
/ -nṅ- /	/ cyanno /	'light'
/ -nw- /	/ mənwano /	'convince' (inf.)
/ -ny- /	/ manyo /	'agreed'
/ -nt- /	/ binti /	'ring'
/ -nd- /	/ bhundo /	'ugly'
/ -ṅj- /	/ bhanjo /	'sister's son'
/ -ṅw- /	/ ninaṅwe /	'ninety nine'
/ -ṅy- /	/ banyo /	'became'
/ -st- /	/ pistawo /	'repentance'
/ -sr- /	/ khũsro /	'impotent'
/ -sl- /	/ kheslo /	'blanket'
/ -sw- /	/ nəswar /	'snuff'
/ -sy- /	/ pəresyan /	'disturb'
/ -rp- /	/ dorpo /	'difficulty'
/ -rt- /	/ berto /	'chalk'
/ -rj- /	/ burji /	'upper wall'
/ -rk- /	/ ghorko /	'oppose'
/ -rkh- /	/ morkho /	'bridle of camel'
/ -rg- /	/ bərgo /	'like'
/ -rm- /	/ surmo /	'collirium'
/ -rṅ- /	/ mərno /	'kill' (inf.)
/ -rs- /	/ khorso /	'work'
/ -rr- /	/ matirro /	'water melon'
/ -rw- /	/ kərwa /	'to make do'
/ -ry- /	/ həryo /	'green'

/ -rb- /	/ khərbujo /	'musk melon'
/ -rt- /	/ gadər̥ti /	'she jackal'
/ -rch- /	/ kurcho /	'big spoon'
/ -rk- /	/ hir̥ko /	'mad'
/ -rw- /	/ lər̥wa /	'to make quarrel'
/ -ry- /	/ pər̥yo /	'fallen'
/ -lp- /	/ sulpo /	'cigar'
/ -lt- /	/ bolto /	'speaking' (ppl.)
/ -l̥t- /	/ bal̥ti /	'bucket' /
/ -lk- /	/ cil̥kəni /	'shining'
/ -l̥n- /	/ cal̥ni /	'sieve'
/ -lr- /	/ polri /	'paper pipe'
/ -lw- /	/ jhəlwa /	'to cause to hold'
/ -ly- /	/ bolyo /	'spoke'
/ -l̥t- /	/ gəl̥to /	'a pass'
/ -ld- /	/ daldi /	'nasty, lazy'
/ -lj- /	/ kaljo /	'heart'
/ -l̥kh- /	/ dholkho /	'white washing'
/ -lg- /	/ əl̥gojo /	'flute'
/ -lm- /	/ ol̥mo /	'complaint'
/ -lw- /	/ talwo /	'palate'
/ -ly- /	/ gəl̥yro /	'rotten'
/ -t- /	/ dewta /	'gods'
/ -wd- /	/ cəwda /	'fourteen'
/ -w̥n- /	/ paw̥no /	'guest'
/ -w̥r- /	/ jiw̥ro /	'heart'
/ -wy- /	/ awyo /	'came'
/ -yd- /	/ phaydo /	'benefit'

/ -yn- /	/ sayno /	‘equal’
/ -yt- /	/ rayto /	‘salty soup’

4.2.2.2.2. Three consonant clusters in polymorphemic words-

Clusters of three consonants occur only in the word medial position in polymorphemic words. In Bagri, two kinds of medial clusters of three consonants are found :

- (1) Nasals + homorganic stops + any other consonant, and
- (2) Clusters in which final member is /y/.

Thus clusters of three consonants are merely extensions of two consonants clusters in Bagri. There is a syllabic cut after C₁ when C₃ is /y/ and in other clusters there is a syllabic cut after C₂.

- (1) The examples of clusters of three consonants in which the first two consonants are homorganic are-

/ -mpr- /	/ lampro /	‘grass’
/ -mbt- /	/ thəmbto /	‘stop’
/ -mbr- /	/ səmbrai /	‘repairing’
/ -mbɭ- /	/ cambɭi /	‘joking’
/ -ndg- /	/ jindgi /	‘life’
/ -ndr- /	/ undəro /	‘mouse’
/ -ndht- /	/ bandhto /	‘tie’
/ -ndhr- /	/ pəndhra /	‘fifteen’
/ -ndhw- /	/ bəndhwa /	‘to cause to tie’
/ -ngr- /	/ pangro /	‘grow (imp)’
/ -ngɭ- /	/ angɭi /	‘finger’
/ -nɳt- /	/ bānɳto /	‘distributing’
/ -ndk- /	/ mendko /	‘frog’
/ -ndɭ- /	/ kundɭi /	‘circle’
/ -ndw- /	/ mēndwai /	‘making’

(2) In which C₃ is /y/ :

/ - bry- /	/ ubryo /	‘exceeded’
/ -try- /	/ kutryo /	‘bitten’
/ -tly- /	/ botlyā /	‘bottles’
/ -thly- /	/ sathlyā /	‘thighs’
/ -dsy- /	/ badsya /	‘king’
/ - t̥ty- /	/ kaṭṭyo /	‘cut’
/ -ḍky- /	/ jhaḍkyo /	‘bush’
/ -ḍhsy- /	/ baḍhsyo /	‘ will cut’ (2.p)
/ -csy- /	/ nacsyo /	‘ will dance’ (2.p)
/ -cly- /	/ piclyo /	‘ beloved’
/ -kky- /	/ bikkyū /	‘be sold’
/ -ksy- /	/ bhiksya /	‘begging’
/ -kry- /	/ pəkryo /	‘being made’
/ -kry- /	/ pakryo /	‘caught’
/ -khsy- /	/ nakhsyo /	‘ will put (2.p.)’
/ -ggy- /	/ I ggyareh /	‘eleven’
/ -gsy- /	/ lagsyo /	‘will be fixed’
/ -gly- /	/ pēglya /	‘feet’
/ -mby- /	/ thambyo /	‘stopped’
/ -mty- /	/ nimtyo /	‘ finished’
/ -mny- /	/ dhamnyo /	‘earthen pot’
/ -msy- /	/ dhamsyo /	‘will offer’ (2.p)
/ -ndhy- /	/ randhyo /	‘cooked’
/ -nny- /	/ ninnyaṇwe /	‘ninety nine’
/ -nty- /	/ bēntyō /	‘twisted’
/ -rjy- /	/ bārjyo /	‘denied’
/ -r̥ny- /	/ kir̥nyā /	‘rays’
/ -rsy- /	/ marsyā /	‘will kill’

/ -ɾsy- /	/ ləɾsyo /	‘will fight’
/ -lsy- /	/ calsyo /	‘will go’
/ -ɭsy- /	/ rəɭsyo /	‘will gather’
/ -wsy- /	/ lyawsyo /	‘will bring’
/ -yɖy- /	/ gayɖyo /	‘crush’ (imp).

4.2.2.2.3 Cluster of four consonants-

Clusters of four consonants are simply expansion of three consonant clusters of the consistency nasal + homorganic stop + consonant /y/ added to it.

/ thambsyo /	‘will stop’
/ səmbɭyo /	‘ready’
/ undryo /	‘rat’
/ bāndhsyo /	‘will tie’
/ bāñcsyo /	‘will study’

4.2.3 Distribution of vowels

(a) Word- initial vowels : There is no restriction of the occurrence of the word initial vowels.

(b) Word-final vowels : With the exception in the short, central (ised) vowels / I ə and U /, all vowels occur freely in word final position.

(c) Sequences of (syllabic) vowels :

The following segments sequences of (syllabic) vowels occur in Bagri ,

[ia]	/ ripia /	‘rupees’
[io]	/ ripiə /	‘rupee’
[iu]	/ niuŋə /	‘to bow’
[ei]	/ teis /	‘twenty three’
[eo]	/ seo /	‘ apple’
[eu]	/ deu /	‘god’

[ai]	/ bai /	‘sister’
[ae]	/ gae /	‘singing’
[ao]	/ báo /	‘ to plough (imp)’
[au]	/ jaũ /	‘ shall go’
[oi]	/ lói /	‘ blood’
[oe]	/ roe /	‘weeping’
[oa]	/ dóa /	‘couplets’
[ou]	/ soũ /	‘ sleeping’
[ui]	/ sui /	‘needle’
[ue]	/ due /	‘ to milk’
[ua]	/ bhua /	‘ father’s sister’
[uo]	/ kuó /	‘ well’

4.3 SUPRASEGMENTALS

4.3.1 Length

There are three pairs of short and long vowels in Bagri: /I/ and /i/; /U/ and /u/; and /ə/ and /a/. The following words illustrate the length contrast:

/I/ : /i/			
/ sIl /	‘stone slab’	/ sil /	‘damp’
/ InnÉ /	‘to this’	/ inne /	‘this side’
/U/ : /u/			
/ cUssó /	‘rat’	/ cusso /	‘suck’ (imp)
/ pUn /	‘good work’	/ pun /	‘air’
/ə/ : /a/			
/ bəɭ /	‘twisting’	/ baɭ /	‘hair’
/ gəm /	‘grief’	/ gam /	‘village’

The length contrast is absent in mid non-central vowels. Semivowels, liquids, nasals, fricatives and stops can contrast in length.

4.3.2 Stress

The stress is not an important feature of Bagri, yet, it seems that its existence and phonemic status cannot be ruled out. Stress is utilized in disyllabic syllables to distinguish between grammatical categories. In nouns, stress accent falls on the initial syllable and in the verb category stress accent falls on the final syllable. The stressed syllable is marked by the symbol [¹]

<u>Nouns</u>		<u>Verbs</u>	
¹ bəlla	‘evil spirit’	bə ¹ lla	‘call’
¹ hilla	‘job’	hi ¹ lla	‘cause to move’
¹ silla	‘rumour’	si ¹ lla	‘cause to wet’

Phonetically, stress is employed to express emphasis. The phonetic correlate is the combination of length and pitch. Emphasized syllables contain a greater amount of energy.

4.3.3 Tones / Pitch

Bagri has developed tonal contrasts like Punjabi language. Though it is a very controversial aspect of the suprasegmentals of the Bagri, yet there are known to be three tones. The low tone /˨/ is characterised as a low- rising tone. The high tone /˥/ is a rising-falling tone. The mid tone /˨˥/ is never represented, since it is predictable by rules of redundancy; if a vowel does not bear any tone specification the level of phonetic representation, it carries a mid tone. Bagri, like Punjabi, does not have

contour tones as does Chinese. The following examples reflect the phonetic status of level tones:

Low	Mid	High
pèr 'duration'	pēr 'leg'	pér 'put on'
lèr 'wave'	ler 'behind'	lér 'taken' (ppl.)
kèr 'calamity'	ker 'capers'	kér 'said' (conj. ppl.)
nàr 'having bathe' (ppl.)	nar 'women'	nár 'tiger'

Both low tone and high tone can occur in monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic environments. Falling tones seem to be the recent development from the structure:

c v h v c----- c v ø c

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of Bagri tones in different syllable types:

Low tone	High tone
jèr 'poison'	jé 'layer'
mè 'we'	mé 'rain'
nà 'bathe'	ná 'eradication'
bài 'brother'	bái 'cultivation'

More usually, the high tone and mid tone contrast is more conspicuous--

Mid tone	High tone
baro 'leather sack'	báro 'obituary'
saro 'whole'	sáro 'support'
ma 'mother'	má 'within'
bo 'cry of goat'	bó 'he'
bero 'knowledge'	béro 'deaf'
so 'sleep'	só 'whole'
bai 'sister'	bái 'cultivation'

4.3.4 Intonation

There are atleast four major types of intonational patterns : (i) High- fall ↘ (ii) High-rise ↗

(iii) Rise and fall ↗↘ ;(iv) Mid level —

They have syntactic rather than pragmatic function. Statements involve 'high-fall' intonation pattern:

mε	gano	koni	cawū
I	sing-inf.	neg.	want-prst.ms

'I do not want to sing.'

kitab	sunī	hi
book.fs	beautiful	be-pst.fs

'The book was beautiful.'

Intonation peaks are generally positioned either on the negative particle or on a word preceding the last word. Yes-no questions, tag questions have a high-rise intonation, e.g.,

bo	kal	bəthθε	gəyo	ho
he	yesterday	there	go-pst.ms	was

'Did he go there yesterday.'

In information questions, rise in intonation is registered on the question word and fall is gradually attained, e.g.,

tū	kī	nē	milyo
you	who-obl.	dat.pp	meet-pst.ms

'Who did you meet.'?

tū	kī	gē	sagε	gəyo	ho
you	who	gen.pp	with	go-prst.ms	was

'Who did you go with.'?

Commands generally follow the mid-level intonational pattern, as

tawə!	kər
hurry	do-imp.ms

'Hurry up.'

CHAPTER- 5

LEXICON

5.1 STRUCTURAL SEMANTIC FIELDS

5.1.1 Kinship terminology

Kinship terminology is subject to regional variation. Some variations are also found on the basis of caste and clan. The abbreviations used for the kin types are: Fa (Father); Mo (Mother); Br (Brother); Si (Sister); Hu (Husband); Wi (Wife); So (Son); Da (Daughter); Y(Younger). Thus the string of symbols such as Fa E Br So indicates Father's Elder Brother's Son.

5.1.1.1 By blood / Partial blood:

5.1.1.1.1 Own generation-

bhai	Br
bhio / bhaiji	E br
choṭo bhai	Y Br
bheṇ	Si
bai	E Si
choṭi bheṇ	Y Si
kake go beṭo bhai	Fa Bo So
bhua go beṭo bhai	Fa Si So
mame go beṭo bhai	Mo Br So
mosi go beṭo bhai	Mo Si So
kake gi beṭi bheṇ	Fa Bo Da
mame gi beṭi bheṇ	Mo Br Da
bhua gi beṭi bheṇ	Fa Si Da
mosi gi beṭi bheṇ	Mo Si Da

5.1.1.1.2 First ascending generation-

babo (informal)	Fa
pitaji (formal)	Fa
mau (informal)	Mo
ma (formal)	Mo
tau / bæddo	Fa E Br
tai / bæddi	Fa E Br Wi
kako	FaY Br
kaki	FaY Br Wi
mamo	Mo Br
mami	Mo Br Wi
phūpho	Fa Si Hu
bhua	Fa Si
moso	Mo Si Hu
mosi	Mo Si

5.1.1.1.3 Second ascending generation-

dado	Fa Fa Fa
dadi	Fa Fa Wi
nano	Mo Fa
nani	Mo Fa Wi

5.1.1.1.4 Third ascending generation-

pəɾdado	Fa Fa Fa
pəɾdadi	Fa Fa Fa Wi
pəɾnano	Mo Fa Fa
pəɾnani	Mo Fa Fa Wi

5.1.1.1.5 First descending generation-

betto	So
betti	Da
bhətijo	Br So
bhətiji	Br Da
bhanjo	Si So
bhanji	Si Da

5.1.1.1.6 Second descending generation-

potto	So So
potti	So Da
doyəto	Da So
doyəti	Da Da

5.1.1.2 Kinship by marriage:

ghər-ało	Hu
ghər-ałi	Wi
sasu	Hu Mo / Wi Mo
susəro	Hu Fa / Wi Fa
jəth	Hu E Br
jəthani	Hu E Br Wi
dewər	Hu Y Br
dirani	Hu Y Br Wi
nəpəd	Hu Si
bhujai / bhabhi	E Br Wi
sało	Wi Br
sali	Wi Si
saleli	Wi Br Wi
bette gi bhu	So Wi

pottɛ gi bhu	So So Wi
jə̃wai	Da Hu
bənei / jijo	Si Hu

5.1.2 Colour terminology

həryo	‘green’
kaɭo	‘black’
khaki	‘khaki’
sunero	‘golden’
bhuo	‘brown’
dhoɭo	‘white’
lilo	‘blue’
mũngio	‘blue green’
piɭo	‘yellow’
lal / ratto	‘red’
əsmāni rǝŋ	‘sky blue’
səɭɛtti	‘grey’
kokokolo rǝŋ	‘coca cola colour’
ciləkəno	‘shiny’
kəbutəri rǝŋ	‘dove-colour’
nəsəwari rǝŋ	‘green grey’
həɭədi rǝŋ	‘deep yellow’

5.1.3 Body Parts

sír	‘head’
baɭ	‘hair’
khopəri	‘scalp’
mattho	‘fore head’

ānkh	‘eye’
bhāphəṇ	‘eye brow’
koḍio	‘eye ball’
pələk	‘eye lid’
kan	‘ear’
nas	‘nostril’
nak	‘nose’
mũ	‘mouth / face’
taḷuo	‘palate’
mũnch	‘moustaches’
dari	‘beard’
misəro	‘gum’
jib	‘tongue’
hoṭ	‘lip’
gal	‘cheek’
thoḍḍi	‘chin’
gəḷ	‘throat’
gicci	‘neck’
guddi	‘neck’
moḍḍo	‘shoulder’
kaglio	‘uvula’
ghetti	‘velum’
dāt	‘tooth’
khal / caməṛi	‘skin’
hat	‘hand’
khəbbo / davo hat	‘left hand’
səjjo / jiwəṇo hat	‘right hand’
bā	‘arm’
əkūṇi	‘elbow’

ãngə̀li	‘finger’
chatti	‘Breast/ Chest’
pet	‘stomach’
hə̀thə̀li	‘palm’
nṹ	‘nail’
ẽngutho	‘thumb’
pith / mə̀gər	‘back’
hađ / hađđi	‘bone’
sərir	‘body’
pə̀t/ sathə̀l	‘thigh’
pə̀g	‘foot’
godđo	‘knee’
lat	‘leg’
kaljyo	‘liver / heart’
dimak	‘brain’
khun / lói	‘blood’
edđi	‘heel’
sãs	‘breath’
pãsə̀li	‘rib’
dhũngo / pittho	‘hip’
kakh / bə̀gəl	‘arm pit’
pə̀g thə̀li	‘sole of foot’
phephro	‘lung’
sũndi	‘navel’
tẽnto	‘calcaneum’
ãntəđi	‘intestine’
kə̀rətu	‘waist’

dhəkəṇi	‘patella’
nəlli	‘tibia’
phīnc	‘back side of leg’
murco	‘wrist’

5.1.4 Cooking terminology

5.1.4.1. Methods of Cooking

pis-ṇo	‘to grind’
kat-ṇo / bəndar-ṇo	‘to cut’
təḷə-ṇo	‘to fry’
po-ṇo	‘to make bread’
bhūnd - ṇo	‘to roast’
sek-ṇo	‘to heat’
bel-ṇo	‘to fold’
bhe-ṇo	‘to wet’
mila-ṇo / ghol- ṇo	‘to mix’
rəḷa-ṇo	‘to stir’
chəmək-ṇo / tərək-ṇo	‘seasoning’
thəṇḍo kəṇo	‘to cool’
tato kəṇo	‘to heat’
rəgər-ṇo	‘to rub’
gūnd-ṇo	‘to knead’
ubaḷ-ṇo	‘to boil’

5.1.4.2 Cooking implements:

thal	‘big plate’
thali	‘small plate’
baṭkiyo	‘big bowl’
baṭki	‘small bowl’

kuləɾjo	‘earthen cup’
kuləɾəti	‘small earthen cup’
kəðhawəɳi	‘boiling pot for milk’
degci	‘boiling pot’
tə̃ndur	‘earthen oven’
cəməco	‘big spoon’
kuɾəcho	‘very big spoon’
jheɾəɳio	‘stirrer’
hāɳdi	‘earthen pot’
ketəli	‘kettle’
cakki	‘hand mill’
culho	‘oven’
towo	‘baking tray’
ləkəɾi	‘wood’
bəliɾo	‘fuel’
kəɾhai	‘frying pan’
kəɾhaio	‘small frying pan’
cəkəlo	‘rolling base’
belən	‘rolling pin’
lotto	‘water pot’
gilas	‘glass’
doi	‘wooden spoon’
cimpio	‘tongs’
səɳdasi	‘cross tong’
mətthani	‘stirrer’

5.1.4.3 Typical dishes:

rotṭi	‘bread baked on fire’
sag	‘vegetable’
daḷ	‘lentil’
cawəḷ	‘rice’
khir	‘rice pudding’
həluo / siro	‘flour pudding’
raiṭo	‘yogurt dish’
kəḍḍi	‘curry’
puṛi / malpuo	‘deep fried bread’
p̣ṛāṭho	‘fried bread’
pəṭṭoliyo	‘garbanzo dish’
pəkkoṛo	‘deep fried snack’
mitṭhai	‘sweets’
guarphəḷi go sag	‘pod vegetable’
sāngri go sag	‘vegetable of prosopis pod’
bəjəri gi roti	‘sorghum bread’
missi rotti	‘salty bread’
ror	‘custard’
rabəṛi	‘sour custard’
dəḷio	‘porridge’

5.1.5 Agriculture

5.1.5.1 Crops grown in the area:

kəṇək	‘wheat’
kəpas	‘cotton’
nəṛəmo	‘american cotton’

ciṇa / cholla	‘gram’
mūphēlli	‘ground nut’
sērasyū	‘mustard’
tarimiro	‘yellow mustard’
moṭh	‘kidney bean’
mūng	‘green kidney bean’
jo	‘barley’
juar	‘a kind of barley’
gənnio	‘sugarcane’
surəj mukhi	‘sun flower’
guar	‘tetragonoloba’

5.1.5.2 Agricultural implements:

həl	‘plough’
jəṁīn	‘earth/ land’
bij	‘seed’
bayero khet	‘cultivated field’
bənjəṛ khet	‘uncultivated field’
ūnt	‘camel’
sānd	‘she-camel’
bələd	‘ox’
suago	‘harrow’
syaro	‘plough blade’
pat	‘rambo’
ūnt gadḍi	‘camel cart’
tectər	‘tractor’
ṭralli	‘trolley’
thəresər	‘thrasher’

5.1.5.3 Agricultural activities:

bij-ṇo	‘to plant seed’
khod-ṇo	‘to dig’
rop-ṇo	‘to plant’
jor-ṇo	‘to plough’
suago mar-ṇo	‘to harrow’
par kər-ṇi	‘to cultivate’
bijai kər-ṇi	‘to plant seed’

5.1.6 Caste / Class terminology

Since the Bagri society is conservative and illiterate, there exist some tribal tendencies which show its backwardness. There are derogatory remarks or parallel derogatory names for every caste and class of the society. Historically, there has been a tendency to denigrate the persons of other community due to preponderance of casteism.

Derogatory names are existing for those animates that are familiar to one’s surrounding, because the castes / classes or animals that are absent in the area in question are not having parallel names in that region.

NAME OF THE CASTE / CLASS		PARALLEL NAMES
bamən	‘Brahmin’	gərəro
baṇio	‘Shopkeeper/trader’	kirar
bisnoi	‘Bishnoi’	moḍḍo
gusaī	‘Gusain’	moḍḍo
jaṭ	‘Jat’	khər
rajput	‘Rajput’	leḍḍo / gollo / dərogo
syami	‘Swami’	moḍḍo
suttar / khatti	‘Carpenter’	dūnkəl
kumhar	‘Potter’	ṭippəl
luhar	‘Black smith’	lohkuṭ

sūndar	‘Gold smith’	phūnkəṇ
dərəji	‘Tailor’	purpar
ḍhaḍi	‘Dhadhi / drum beater’	ḍum
nayək	‘Nayak’	rūngo
cəmar	‘Leather smith’	ḍhed
sēnsi	‘Sansi’	khapəṇkhos / bhāntu
sikh / sərdaṛ	‘Sikh’	kucco / rīnch / burch
mhusəḷman	‘Muslim’	dukhəl
moci	‘Cobbler’	camkuṭ
jen	‘Jain’	dhūndhio
nirəṇkari	‘Nirankari’	dholo bhut
roṛo	‘Arora’	rəphyuji
khəttəri	‘Khattri’	rəphyuji
dhāṅko	‘Grain cleaner’	təlicəṭṭ
bawəri	‘Bawari’	bawərəro
ūntwal	‘Camel grazer’	ūntau
gəiwal	‘cowherd’	dhandiṭor
lərəṛwal	‘Shepherd’	lərəṛikuṭ

5.2 BASIC VOCABULARY

1. All	sara / sē
2. And	ər / həṛ
3. Animal	pəsu / jyanwər
4. Ashes	rakh
5. At	pər
6. Back	piṭh (of body); lare (adv.)

7. Bad	khərab / maɾo
8. Bark (of tree)	chodo
9. Because	kyūke
10. Belly	peɾ
11. Big	moɽto
12. Bird	pəkəsi
13. Bite	bod-ɲo / kat-ɲo (inf.)
14. Black	kaɭo
15. Blood	khun / lói
16. Blow	phūnk mar-ɲi
17. Bone	haɖ (-m); haɖɖi (f.)
18. Breast	chatti
19. Breathe	sās leɲo
20. Burn	jəgəɲo (intr.); jəgaɲo (tr.)
21. Child	ɬabər / bæcco
22. Claw	pəñjo
23. Cloud	badəl
24. Cold	paɭo / ɬənd
25. Come	a-ɲo
26. Count	giɲ-no
27. Cut	bəɖɖ-ɲo / kəɽɽ-ɲo (intr.); baɖɖ-ɲo / kaɽɽ-ɲo (tr.)
28. Day	dIn
29. Die	mər-ɲo
30. Dig	khod-ɲo
31. Dirty	gəndo / melo / kojo / suglo
32. Dog	kutto / gəñdəko
33. Drink	pi-ɲo
34. Dry	sukɲo (v.); sukko (adj.m.s.)

35. Dull	sust / ḍhilo
36. Dust	ret / dhur / maṭṭi
37. Ear	kan
38. Earth	jəmin / dhərəti
39. Eat	kha-ṇo
40. Egg	īṇḍo
41. Eye	āṅkh
42. Fall	pəṛ-ṇo
43. Far	dur
44. Fat / Grease	cərbi
45. Father	babo-/ pitaji
46. Fear	ḍər
47. Feather	pāṅkh
48. Few	ṭhoṛo
49. Fight	ləṛai (n.); ləṛ- no (inf.)
50. Fear	ag
51. Fish	məchli
52. Five	pānc
53. Float	tir-ṇo
54. Flow	dhar
55. Flower	phul
56. Fly	Uḍḍ-ṇo
57. Fog	dhāwər / dhŨnd
58. Foot	pəg
59. Four	cyar
60. Freeze	jəmm-ṇo
61. Fruit	phəl
62. Full	puro / bhərəṇo

63. Give	de-ṇo
64. Good	accho / cokho / sawəḷ
65. Grass	ghas
66. Green	həryo
67. Guts	hōslo / cətərai
68. Hair	baḷ
69. Hand	hath
70. He	bó
71. Head	sIr
72. Hear	sUṇ - no
73. Heavy	bharū
74. Here	əṭṭhə
75. Heart	kaljyo / dIl
76. Hit	ṭəkkər (n.); mar-ṇo (inf.)
77. Hold / Take	pəkkər-ṇo
78. Horn (of an animal)	sīng
79. How	kiyā / kyukər
80. Hunt	sikar kər-ṇo
81. Husband	ghəraḷo
82. I	mē
83. Ice	bəreph
84. If	je / gər
85. In	mē
86. Kill	mar-ṇo
87. Knee	godḍo
88. Know	jaṇ-no
89. Lake	jhil
90. Laugh	hāns-ṇo

91. Leaf	pətto
92. Left side	khəbbe passe / khəbbo
93. Leg	pəg / lat
94. Lie	jhuṭ (n.) ; jhuṭ bol-ṇo (inf.)
95. Live	ré-ṇo / ji-no
96. Liver	kaljyo / dil
97. Long	ləmbo / lāmbo / ləmmo
98. Louse	ḍhero (m.) ; jū (f.)
99. Man / Male	admi / mərəḍ / māṇəs
100. Many	kəi / bhot
101. Meat / Flesh	mas
102. Moon	cānd
103. Mother	ma
104. Mountain	pàṛ
105. Mouth	mūʻ
106. Name	nām
107. Narrow	sənkəṛo / bhiṛo / sənkeṛllo
108. Near	neṛḍ / sarre / kənnə
109. Neck	guddi / gicci
110. New	nūo
111. Night	rat
112. Nose	nak
113. Not	koni / nã / nãi
114. Old	buddo (animate); puraṇo (inanimate)
115. One	ek
116. Other	dusəro / dujo / or
117. Person	admi / bəndo / insan
118. Play	khel-ṇo

119. Pull	khēnc-no (inf.); khīcaw (n.)
120. Push	dhəkko deno (inf.); dhəkko (n.)
121. Rain	mé
122. Red	lal / ratto
123. Right / Correct	thik / sawəl / cokho / bədiya
124. Right side	jIwəŋe passe / jIwəno
125. River	nəddi
126. Road	səɾək
127. Root	jəɾ
128. Rope	ras / jewəɾi (f.); jewəro (m.)
129. Rotten	sirəro
130. Round	gol
131. Rub	mhus səl-ŋo
132. Salt	luŋ / nəmək
133. Sand	ret / dhur
134. Say	kéh-no
135. Scratch	khaj / khurək
136. Sea	səməndər
137. See	dekh-ŋo
138. Seed	bij
139. Sew	sim-ŋo
140. Sharp	tikho / tej
141. Short (in height)	chotto / mədro / bawəno
142. Sing	ga-ŋo
143. Sit	beth-ŋo
144. Skin	khal / caməri
145. Sky	əkas/ əsman

146. Sleep	so-ṇo
147. Small	choṭṭo / nahno
148. Smell	sūṅg-ṇo (inf.); sorəṃ (n.)
149. Smooth	cikəṇo
150. Smoke	dhūo (n.); pi-ṇo (v.)
151. Snake	sap / nag
152. Snow	bəṛəph
153. Some	kī
154. Spit	thuk-ṇo
155. Split	paṛ-no / ciṛ-ṇo / baṇṭ-ṇo
156. Squeeze	nicor-no / dəba-ṇo
157. Stab / Pierce	bīndij-ṇo (intr.); bīnd-ṇo (tr.)
158. Stand	khəryo ho-ṇo
159. Star	taro
160. Stick	clipp-ṇo (inf.) ; ceppo (n.)
161. Stone	pəṭṭhər
162. Straight	siddo
163. Suck	cus-ṇo
164. Sun	surəj
165. Swell	suj-ṇo (inf.); sojən (n.)
166. Swim	tirai (n.) ; tir-ṇo (inf.)
167. Tail	pūnch
168. That	bó
169. There	bəṭṭhe
170. They	bé
171. Thick	jaddo
172. Thin	pəṭəlo
173. Think	soc-ṇo (inf.) ; soc (n.)

174. This	á (f.) ; ó (m.)
175. Thou	tũ
176. Three	tin
177. Throw	phẽnk-ṇo
178. Tie	bãnd-ṇo
179. Tongue	jib
180. Tooth	dãnt
181. Tree	dærkhət
182. Turn	mur-ṇo (inf.); bari (n.)
183. Two	do
184. Vomit	Ułi kər-ṇi (inf.) ; Ułi (n.)
185. Walk	ghumai (n.); cal-ṇo (inf.)
186. Warm	gərəm / tatto
187. Wash	dho-ṇo (inf.) ; dhuai (n.)
188. Water	paṇi
189. We	mhe
190. Wet	gillo
191. What	ke
192. When	kəd
193. Where	kətt̪hə
194. White	dholo / səpet / ciṭṭo
195. Who	kũṇ
196. Wide	coṛo
197. Wife	ghərali / bhu / binəṇi
198. Wind	pun / həwa
199. Wing	pānkh / pər
200. Wipe	pũnch-ṇo (inf.) ; pũnchai (n.)
201. With	sagə

202. Women	lugai / jənani
203. Woods	jəngəɫ / bən
204. Worm	kiɾo
205. Yes	hã
206. Year	sal / bərəs
207. Yellow	piɭo

CHAPTER- 6

LANGUAGE CONTACT, CHANGE AND BORROWING

6.1 LANGUAGE CONTACT

Language contact takes place between speakers of different languages in contact situations. In order for communications to take place, speakers must arrive at certain degree of comprehension of the other language and must acquire a degree of facility in producing utterances that will be comprehensible (Weinreich, 1953). In due course, some speakers will be able to alternate between languages and become bilinguals.

Language contact occurs under various conditions such as migration, neighbourhood, conquest, and political unification of different ethnic-linguistic groups under multinational states. Where two ethnically different communities come into contact with each other under anyone of these conditions, linguistic contact takes place out of the need for establishing communication between the members of these communities. Language contact is speech communication between different linguistic communities (Rozenvevjg, 1976).

In a contact situation like migration in which one ethnic group comes into contact with another, the host society often exerts cultural influence on the immigrant group in terms of ideological and value system. Acculturation thus results from the coming together of societies with cultural traditions. Consequently, the socio-cultural life of the immigrants undergoes change based on the patterns or models set by the host

society. Socio-cultural contact thus introduces two simultaneous processes in a contact situation of which language contact is just one aspect of it (Weinreich, 1953). It has also been pointed out that in the process of linguistic assimilation of one language into another, the rate of assimilation is directly related to the rate of cultural assimilation (Reyburn, 1975).

Language contact results in the language change at Phonological, Morphological, Syntactical and Lexical levels. Language contact plays significant role in bilingualism, interference, code switching, code-mixing and borrowings. All these factors may be responsible for language changes.

Bagri, a dialect of Rajasthani is spoken in Sri Ganganagar and Hanumangarh districts of Rajasthan; Sirsa and Hissar districts of Haryana; and Faridkot, Firozpur and Bhatinda of Punjab. Due to its strategic geographical location, Bagri has been in stable contact with languages like Punjabi, Haryanavi, Hindi, Urdu. These languages spoken adjacent to Bagri might have caused language change in Bagri at various levels. Bagri speaking area has seen several socio-politico-historical upheavals in the past. Before the partition (1947) of the nation, Bagri speaking area was arid and underdeveloped. As it lies adjacent to present day Pakistan, a sizeable number of Muslims were residing in and around Bhatner (Hanumangarh). Their mother tongue was Urdu with high borrowings from Punjabi. After the partition Muslims migrated to Pakistan thereby breaking the direct contact of Urdu with Bagri. After the introduction of several irrigational facilities in the early fifties, this area turned into fertile one. Consequently several people from Haryana, Punjab, and other parts of Rajasthan started migrating in this area and settled here. They brought with them

their respective mother tongues. As a result of all these developments, Bagri came in direct contact with languages like Punjabi, Haryanavi and Marwari, and indirectly in contact with English, Hindi, and Urdu.

Due to language contact, there has occurred changes in Bagri within and without. Bagri speakers are now bilinguals or multilinguals as a result of language contact. The other factors responsible for the language contact of Bagri with other languages are said to be political, social, economical and several others.

6.2 LANGUAGE CHANGE

Language moves down time in a current of its own making. It has a drift. Nothing is perfectly static. Every word, every grammatical element, every location, every sound and accent is a slowly changing configuration, moulded by the invisible and impersonal. Of all linguistic elements, meaning is probably the least resistant to change. There is a proverb in Indian villages which says that language changes every six miles. Language is modifiable, extendible, and changes in time and space.

Living language, indeed never hold still. All of them are continually changing their sounds, their grammars; their vocabulary and their meaning for various reasons. The changes in language are gradual, systematic and minor. They are so natural that they escape our attention as they occur and remain imperceptible. Over a span of centuries, however, cumulative effect is noticeable.

It is held that language of tendency to change from complexity towards simplicity, from length towards precision from difficulty towards ease, from disorder towards order. Language changes because of linguistic, social, cultural, and psychological and historical factors too. According to Saucer, language changes due

to the innovations of individuals and of community, and historical reasons. Neighbouring language and dialects also affect language. Language change may be very broadly divided into two sub-categories-external change and internal change. Borrowings in all its forms are instances of external change. Changes that do not come about through borrowings may be called instances of internal change. Some forms of internal change are addition and loss of sounds, and lexical items coinages and extensions. Bilingualism plays a significant role in language change.

In Bagri, there has not occurred much language change at phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. Only sporadic examples are found at these levels. It could be due to the fact that the surrounding languages of dialects are of the same Indo-Aryan family to which Bagri belongs.

6.2.1 Phonological changes

At the phonological level, very few examples are there to show language change due to language contact with Punjabi, Haryanavi, Marwari, and Hindi.

Due to language contact of Bagri with Punjabi the following words of Bagri have been changed phonologically. Usually the medial /a/ becomes /ə/ and word final /o/ becomes /u/ whereas word final /ɛ/ changes to /I/.

Bagri	Bagri		Punjabi
ghaṭ	>ghəṭ	(less)	ghəṭ
kilo	>kilu	(kilogram)	kilu
ḍolo	>ḍolu	(pot)	ḍolu
hoḷɛ	>hoḷi	(slowly)	hoḷi

Whereas, contact of Bagri with Haryanavi, the Bagri demonstrative pronouns are changed by losing /i/

Bagri	Bagri		Haryanavi
ĩ tərīā	>I tərā	(like this)	ĩ tərā
bĩ tərīā	>bi tərā	(like that)	bĩ tərā
kĩ tərīā	>ki tərīā	(like what)	kĩ tarīā
jĩ tərīā	>ji tərā	(like that)	jĩ tərā

CVCVV changes to CVCØV and becomes CVCV

Language contact of Bagri with Hindi brings about some phonological changes in initial vowels of Bagri and / I/ changes to / ə/

Bagri		Bagri		Hindi
indo >		əndo	(egg)	ənda
imrət >		əmrət	(elixir)	amrit
nimek >		nəmək	(salt)	nəmək

6.2.2 Morphological changes

Due to language contact of Bagri with surrounding languages / dialects very few morphological changes in Bagri have been noticed. The further marker in Bagri was syū which due to contact with Hindi has changed to ūga. This is the noticeable morphological change in Bagri:

Old Bagri			New Bagri	
mẽ	jasyū	>	mẽ	jaūga
I	go-fut. 1s		I	go-fut. 1s
mẽ	khasyū	>	mẽ	khaūga

This change is uniformly found in all varieties of Bagri.

6.2.3 Syntactical changes

No syntactical changes have been noticed in Bagri so far due to its contact with other languages.

6.3 BORROWING

When any part of the structure of a language is changed by importation of features, whether from some other part of the language or from some external source, the imported features are said to be borrowed (Hall, 1969:35).

Borrowing is very common linguistic phenomenon. In all probability, no language is completely free of borrowed forms. Language change through the influence of other languages. Some languages borrow too largely, other only to a limited extent. Borrowing is never a linguistic necessity, since it is always possible to extend and modify the use of existing lexical items to meet new communication needs. A common cause of lexical borrowing is the need to find words for objects, concept and places. It is easier to borrow an existing term from another language than to make one up. The path of lexical borrowing is reflected to a certain extent the paths of cultural influence. For example Bagri has borrowed from English words as radio, television, telephone, rail, signal guard, conductor, and so forth.

After the independence of the nation, Hindi has been the medium of the education in this area and English has also been adopted as a medium of instruction in the public schools. Due to the continuous contact of Bagri with Hindi, Punjabi and English, a high borrowing from these languages has been noticed. Besides Bagri has also received a large number of Punjabi lexicon in its basic vocabulary. After development of irrigational facilities in this region as mentioned earlier, a large population from Punjab, Haryana, and other parts of Rajasthan migrated to Bagri speaking area. They brought with them their respective languages and consequently Bagri has also borrowed from the languages of these immigrants. But the major borrowing is from Hindi because of its the medium of education, newspapers, films and court. The new generation prefers to speak in Hindi and feels with the mainstream. There seems to be no encouragement for the speaker of Bagri. Even in the rural areas, people prefer to speak Hindi over Bagri and one is asked to name his mother tongue the answer would usually be Hindi. Due to western influence on the education, the Bagri has begun borrowing heavily from English too. The status of Hindi, Punjabi loan-words vary, ranging from the established loan-words in general usage which have displaced their Bagri counterparts, to loan transfers and marginal loans, which co-occur with their Bagri counterparts. The loan words may be morphologically assimilated affecting the morphophonemic organization of the language, or may remain unchanged.

The largest proportion of the loan vocabulary is from Hindi consisting mainly of material artifacts introduced to the Bagri speakers in their interaction with their people educated through Hindi medium.

(.jat 'caste,' sona 'gold', niwas 'abode', pətrika 'magazine')

Apart from material artifacts much of the basic vocabulary from divergent semantic domains has also been incorporated as, Kinship terms (caca 'uncle', didi 'sister', pitaji 'father', aurət 'wife'), animal names (loməri 'fox', kuto 'dog', dhenu 'cow'), household terms (cimto 'tongs', plet 'plate', pres 'iron', kulər 'cooler'), and colour terms (nil 'indigo', blu 'blue') which have completely displaced their Bagri counterparts. The borrowing from Punjabi is related with agricultural activities. These are:

plau	'plough'
tota plau	'double plough'
jhona	'rice husk'
khal	'rivulet'
suhaga	'roller'
haḍi	'winter crop'
kəṇək	'wheat'

The borrowed terms from Hindi and Punjabi are mainly nouns followed by adjectives, such as

sundər	'handsome'
gəbru	'stout'
əccha	'good'
cənga	'good'

CHAPTER-7

CONCLUSION

Bagri is a dialect of Rajasthani spoken in the northern Rajasthan and its adjacent areas of Haryana and Punjab. There are eight dialects of Rajasthani and Bagri is one of them. Though Rajasthani itself is considered as one of the 48 dialects of Hindi, whereas its literature begins from the eleventh century onwards. No intensive research has been carried out in Bagri except some minor ones. Bagri is a typical Indo-Aryan language. Its word order is SOV. Sentence types in Bagri are declarative-in which both the subject and the object control the verb agreement; Interrogative sentences have yes-no questions, and k- question-word questions; Imperative sentences are of five types in Bagri. These are basic imperatives, future imperatives, subjunctive imperatives, the obligative imperative, and the prohibitive imperative; Exclamative sentences are overlaid with some expressive, attitudinal meaning and the speaker adds a strong emotional reaction to what he presupposes to be true. In exclamative clauses, the k-question words are syntactically different in that they occupy a determiner position and function as degree modifiers to a noun, adjective or adverb.

In Bagri no overt syntactic device such as a quotative marker or particle is utilised to distinguish between direct and indirect speech. Frequently quoted as well as reported material is contained in an embedded sentence preceded by the complementizer *kε* 'that' which is subordinate relative to a higher verb of the sentence.

Subordination involves the conjunction of the two clauses with the help of subordinator or subordinating conjunctions. If finite subordinate clauses precede the main clause, they drop the complementizer *kε* and require elements such as *Ó* 'this' or *iyā* 'such' in their main clause, whereas non-finite formally quite distinct from main clauses. They are marked by (i) verb modification-in which the subordinate verb undergoes the process of participialization or gerundivization / infinitivization (ii) lack of agreement -in the non-finite subordinate verb lacks subject-verb or object-verb agreement and generally is not marked by tense (iii) Word order -in which the subordinate non-finite clause follows a strict external (i.e. its placement within matrix clauses) and internal word-order. Three types of subordinate clauses namely, complement clause, relative clause, and adverbial clause have been discussed. A complement clause is a clause which 'completes' (i.e., fulfils a subcategorization restriction on) an accompanying lexical head. Such a subordinate clause may function as a complement of the subject or as a complement of the object. The *k-*complementizer in Bagri occurs clause initially in object complement irrespective of the type of subordinate clause. There is no overt head noun introducing the complement clause. In Bagri, two types of relative clause constructions are employed. These are finite and non-finite participial relative clauses. The finite relative clauses maintain full sentence structure with subject-verb agreement and are quite widespread. The participial relative clauses, on the other hand, exhibit the non-finite form of the verb. In Bagri, relative markers begin with *j*-sound and formed by (i) deleting the relativized noun phrase; and (ii) changing the verb into a participial form by adding */-to/* for the present participle, */-ero/* for the past and */-n/η ało/* for

the agentive participle. The participial forms agree with the following noun in number and gender. The adverbial clauses are marked by finite form of the verb or the non-finite form of the verb (i.e. participle and infinitive forms). Finite adverbial clauses may be placed in presentential as well as post sentential position. The adverbial subordinate clauses in Bagri are divided into time, location, manner, purpose and cause types.

Coordination involves the linking of two or more categories of expression with the use of coordinators or coordinating conjunctions. The coordinator assigns equal rank to the conjuncts. Bagri permits four types of coordination to occur at the phrasal as well as sentential levels. These are : conjunction *ər* 'and', adversative conjunction *pəŋ* 'but', disjunction *kəjya* 'or', and negative disjunction *nə...nə* 'neither...nor'.

In Bagri, sentence negation is expressed by four negative particles: *koni*, *ko*, *nā̃*, and *nē̃i*. *Koni* and *ko* represent the unmarked negative particles and are equivalent to English 'not'; whereas *nā̃* and *nē̃i* are used in subjunctive, imperative, conditional, neither....nor construction, and infinitive phrases. Negative particle can appear in preverbal position in a negative sentence. Negative structures trigger a number of deletion processes. This explains the presence of various deletions such as auxiliary deletion, copula deletion and operator non-specification. The major difference between the four negative particles is that it is the only *koni* that can be placed at postverbal position, others are not.

Anaphor is a label to refer to the referentially-dependent NP types: reflexives and reciprocals. Anaphors receive their referential interpretation by virtue of being bound by an antecedent. There are several devices of expressing anaphora-(i) deletion, (ii) deletion where element is marked on the verb morphology, (iii) ordinary personal pronoun, and (iv) reflexive pronoun.

Reflexivity in Bagri is expressed through 'agentive reflexives'. The reflexive pronoun in Bagri is *apɲɛ ap* 'self' and it is followed by case marker. Reciprocal relations in Bagri are expressed by means of *ek dusrɛ*, composed of the cardinal *ek* 'one' and the oblique form of the ordinal number *dusəro* 'second'. Another way of forming reciprocals is by means of *apəsəri mɛ* 'among each other'. The reciprocal *ek dusrɛ* can take any post position, but *apəsəri* takes only *mɛ* 'among /in' postposition.

Comparison in Bagri is expressed by means of sentential, phrasal and morphological strategies. Sentential comparison is carried out by means of two finite clauses introduced by the relative marker *jitto* 'as much as' and the correlative marker *bitto* 'that much'. Phrasal comparison is expressed by a postposition associated with the standard of comparison. In morphological comparison, the suffix *-ero /-eri /-era* is used with adjectives ending in *-o /-i /-a* according to the number, person and gender of the adjective to signify comparative degree.

Equatives in Bagri are similar to comparatives and are of two types (i) syntactic, and (ii) phrasal. The syntactic type of equatives are composed of two

clauses termed *jitto* 'as much as' and *bitto* 'that much' clauses and the subject and the standard of comparison receive an equative adjective or adverb. The negative particle is not used. The phrasal type of equative employ adjectives such as *bərabər* 'equal', *bergo* 'like', and the particle *jisyo* 'like /-ish' which in turn behaves like a postposition. Possession is indicated by the use of verb *hoṇo* 'to be' in Bagri. Possessive structures are sensitive to the concept of alienable vs. inalienable, permanent vs. temporary possession, and the animacy of the possessor which, in turn, assigns a variety of postpositions to the subject. Since any subject when followed by a postposition fails to control verb agreement, in possession structures the verb agrees with the object, i.e. the possessed item.

Emphasis serves to draw particular attention to some element in a sentence or utterance, either to place that element in focus or to contrast it with some other element. Bagri is rich in terms of expressing emphasis and it is primarily conveyed by means of intonation, particles, movement and repetition of the elements. Like other Indo-Aryan languages, particles in Bagri have no fixed place of occurrence. These may go with words, clause or phrase. The element related to these is brought into prominence. In Bagri, there are /i/, /to/ and /so/ particles.

Nouns are inflected for number, gender and case in Bagri. There are two numbers-singular and plural; two genders-masculine and feminine; and three cases-simple, oblique and vocative. The nouns are declined according to their gender class, and the phonological property of their final segments. The animates are either masculine or feminine depending on the phonological shape of the word. In Bagri,

case marking is partly inflexional and partly postpositional. First and second person do not take *nĕ* 'agentive' marking; whereas third person singular and plural show distinct nominative and agentive shapes. There is split ergativity and that too limited to the perfect aspect. Bagri distinguishes personal, reflexive, reciprocal, possessive, demonstrative, relative and emphatic pronouns. All pronouns are inflected for number and case but gender is distinguished only in third person singular pronouns. The third person pronouns are distinguished on the proximity /remoteness dimension. Plural forms are used as honorific pronouns. The passive voice in Bagri is formed in two ways-(i) the subject of the active sentence is followed by the instrumental postposition *syũ*; and (ii) the past participial form of the main verb is used with the explicator verb *ja* 'go'; and in some cases by adding the suffix */-ij/* to the stem instead of the past participial form.

There are three tenses in Bagri : present, past, and future. Inflected forms of *hε* 'be' in optative express present tense and inflected forms of *ho* express past tense. These are used as auxiliaries with other verbs to denote present and past tense respectively. The future indicative tense does not require any auxiliary verb form to express the person of the subject. Agreement of verb with the subject is by person, number, and gender.

Aspect indicates the way, not that an event is located in time rather it is temporal configuration of an event. Aspects are marked by the phasal structure of the verbs. There are four moods in Bagri namely-indicative, obligative, imperative, and

optative. Bagri has no separate inflectional category of mood. It is fused with person and number.

Bagri makes a clear distinction between finite and non-finite forms. Finite forms can be used independently in matrix and subordinate clauses. The only non-finite verbal forms are the derived nominals and participles. The non-finite verbal forms are not sensitive to tense, voice, aspect, and mood. Only the past and present participial forms maintain their aspectual reference.

The adjectives in Bagri can be grouped into two classes: (i) ending in-o and (ii) not ending in-o, called invariable adjectives. Definite adjectives are made by adding -ro /-ri /-ra for masculine, feminine and plurals respectively, to the stem of adjective. Postpositions constitute a small class of words which occur after inflected forms of a nominal and are always bound. Majority of postpositions are invariable.

In Bagri, the cardinal numerals upto ten are inflected according to the number, person, and gender.

In Bagri, the quantifiers are important. Aggregative quantifiers are derived by the addition of /ũ/ to the cardinal numerals.

On the basis of their morphemic structure there are two types of adverbs in Bagri. These are primary and derivative. Adverbs are divided into adverbs of time, place or manner etc.

Nouns in Bagri are derived from nouns, adjectives and verbs, whereas verbs are formed from nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs.

Derivation of adjectives is carried out by nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Derivation of adverbs is carried out by postpositional incorporation, adding the suffix *-ən* 'according to' to the noun or from verbs by means of a participialization method. Both present and past participles function as adverbs. Two types of postpositions, -(i) complex, and (ii) simple derived, are existing in Bagri.

Compounding is a lexical unit in which two or more lexical morphemes are juxtaposed. In Bagri, equational, associative and attributive types of compounds are found. Reduplication stands for repetition of all or part of a lexical item carrying a sentence modification. Reduplication can be partial or complete. Bagri employs echo-formation, expressives and word reduplication. Bagri has *u* and *a* as replacer sounds.

There are thirty one consonant phonemes in Bagri. There are five kinds of consonants : stops, continuants, trill, flap and laterals. Five series of stops : bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar. These occur both voiced and voiceless, aspirated and unaspirated and thus they are twenty one in number. Nasals are three : bilabial, dental and retroflex. Fricatives are only two whereas Flap is one, Trill is one and Frictionless continuants or semivowels are labial and palatal.

There are three degrees of phonetic length in consonants in Bagri-(i) geminated, (ii) fortis, and (iii) simple. Some consonants occur in all the positions whereas geminated and fortis occur in the intervocalic position even if intervened by /y/. But fortis occurs only in the second syllable of the word. All the consonants except /n,r,l,r,y,h/ can occur geminated as well as fortis.

Geminated consonants do not contrast with fortis as geminated occur after short vowels and fortis occur after long vowels. All consonants except /ŋ, ɭ, ɽ/ occur in all positions. /ŋ, ɭ, ɽ/ do not occur initially.

Phonetically the vowels /i e ε a o u/ are longer than /I θ U/ in Bagri. Phonetic contrast is existing due to vowel length. Upto four consonants form consonant clusters in Bagri.

Tone is prominent in Bagri. Murmur vowels are also found. Stress is not an important feature in this language. There are atleast four different major types of intonation patterns. These are (i) High-fall, (ii) High-rise (iii) Rise and fall, (iv) Mid-level.

Kinship terminology is subject to regional variation. Some variations are also found on the basis of caste and clan. Parallel derogatory words are also used in Bagri.

Language contact takes place between speakers of different languages in contact situations. Bagri is spoken in the northern-Rajasthan and its adjacent areas and it is in contact with Punjabi, Haryanavi, and Hindi.

Language change may be the result of language contact. Bagri has changed a lot due to language contact. But it is interesting that despite of being in contact only the phonological and morphological changes have taken place, no syntactic change has been observed. Borrowing from other language has also taken place.

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